"NOT THE OLD RESEARCH DEGREE": A HISTORY OF GRADUATE EDUCATION AT APPALACHIAN STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE, 1942-1967

A Thesis

by

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ABSTRACT

A HISTORY OF GRADUATE EDUCATION AT

APPALACHIAN STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE. (May 1996)

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This thesis addresses the history of graduate education at Appalachian State Teachers College. From 1942 until 1967, a recognized program of graduate studies was conducted on the campus of Appalachian in Boone, North Carolina. Appalachian's expansion into graduate education did not constitute a departure from the school's historic singular mission of preparing people for careers in professional education. Instead, the graduate school developed as an extension of the school's existing services. As such, the graduate school initially had no defining purpose other than to provide the next level of certification for educational personnel.

One of the prominent conceptions of graduate education was, and still is, that it represents a discrete part of any institution. This definable component of the institution is typically the creative center of the institution where a select group of scholars and top students pursue intellectual elevation. A graduate school for educational personnel does not always fit comfortably under this rubric. At Appalachian the graduate school

emerged as result of the need for increased training for educational personnel and in response to state requirements for certification. Thus its founding purposes had little to do with the higher learning but much more to do with professional interests.

Appalachian's graduate school continues to have difficulty defining its purpose within the institution. In some ways, this difficulty stems from its legacy as a graduate school for professional educators. As a teachers college, this governing principle was essentially adequate, and, measured by teachers college standards, Appalachian's graduate school for educational personnel was renowned. However, with the transformation to a regional university in 1967, much of what had been deemed acceptable for the graduate school, both in purpose and outcome, was no longer sufficient. Responsibilities expanded, and its previously singular defining purpose evaporated.

This thesis tells the story of the graduate school's beginnings in the early 1940s and follows this story through the years when it was most successful as a graduate school for educational personnel in the mid 1960s. The approach is roughly chronological with pauses given for analysis of certain topical aspects. One of the primary themes that is followed throughout is the difficulty that the graduate school seems to have had in developing a defining purpose. As a graduate school in a teachers college it often looked liked no more than a fifth year of work of fundamentally the same character as the undergraduate program. This inability to construct a distinctive rationale for its existence has been a manifestation of the dissonance between two strands in American higher education: the higher learning

emphasizing research in an intellectual community of scholars and education for a profession emphasizing the pragmatic concerns of training for specific tasks.

For Amaris

Like Homer
I take the stories of my people,
I give them shape, and hand
them down. What I pass on
is truth made new....

--John Leax (1993)

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Preface

In 1785, near the town of Salisbury, North Carolina, an academy by the name of Zion Parnassus opened its doors. Until 1811 this school was known for its teacher-training department. As it turns out, its founder, Samuel McCorkle, a 1772 graduate of Princeton, had established the first teacher training institution in the United States.[1] Despite this early start, the availability of teacher education, especially in the South, remained scarce. Most teachers could only hope for infrequent one or two week normal institutes for training.[2]

In 1847, Yale University established a graduate school, at least in name. In 1872, Harvard followed. However, it was the founding of Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore in 1876 that marked the most clearly defined effort in graduate education in America. Johns Hopkins was largely influenced by the German university ideal, in which a select group of faculty and students pursued advanced study and research with

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[1]The school's high academic standards were also recognized. Six of the first seven graduates of the University of North Carolina were graduates of Zion Parnassus. McCorkle himself had been offered a professorship at the University in 1795. Edgar Knight, Education in the United States, 3d ed., rev., (New York: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1969), 315, 316.

[2]Knight, Education in the United States, 333, 334; Curtis W. Wood and H. Tyler Blethen, "Educating the Public in Western North Carolina: The Normal School Movement, 1877-1925," in History of Education in Southern Appalachia, ed. John L. Bell (Cullowhee, N.C.: Western Carolina University, 1990).

the aim of supplying the nation with an elite group possessing "intellectual training of a higher order than could be obtained" at existing American institutions.[3]

The development of graduate education at Appalachian State Teachers College (hereafter, Appalachian) represents a union of these two traditions. Appalachian was by no means unique in integrating these two strands of American education. Teachers College, Columbia University was one of the earliest, and it became the most influential institution for the advanced training of educational personnel.[4] This merging of the graduate school with the largely professional interests of training educational personnel has often been an uncomfortable affiliation. Appalachian's story reflects that difficulty. Why have a graduate school for professional educators in addition to the undergraduate training? What purpose did it serve? There were of course pragmatic reasons--state certification requirements, to name the most obvious--but more imperceptible factors also influenced the graduate school's development.

In short, people attended Appalachian's graduate school to increase their professional training and thus their status in society. At the turn of the century, more Americans than ever were entering the flourishing professions. Lawrence Cremin, in his American Education: The Metropolitan Experience, writes that along with the growth of the older professions--medicine, law, divinity--"fields aspiring to

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[3]Abraham Flexner, Universities: American, English, German (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 73; Knight, Education in the United States, 404; Mary Bynum Pierson, Graduate Education in the South (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 17, 18.

[4]Knight, Education in the United States, 334.

professional status"--dentistry, teaching, nursing, librarianship--also expanded rapidly. Reflecting these shifts, special training schools also sprang up in record numbers. Americans increasingly flocked to these schools to receive their professional training, and, by the thirties and forties, the relentless movement for the "professionalization of everyone" was on.[5]

Burton Bledstein, in his The Culture of Professionalism, speaks of this impetus in terms of a "vertical vision that compelled persons to look upward, forever reaching toward their potential and their becoming, the fulfillment of their true nature."[6] At Appalachian, the faculty constituted authorities on education, and professional educators, "busy getting ahead in their own lives, acquiesced to a professional authority which would both satisfy their need of individual attention and could be trusted."[7]

Admitting exceptions, Bledstein's thesis does have relevance in this story. Examples abound that point to a middle-class (white) culture self-consciously pursuing its own social ends through various institutions, but foremost through education. Many middle-class Americans saw education, especially higher education, as a tool to self-

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[5]Lawrence A. Cremin, American Education: The Metropolitan Experience, 1876-1980 (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1988), 492-502.

[6]Burton J. Bledstein, The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1976), 105.

[7]Ibid., 331.

elevation, a "stamp of social superiority," and somehow at the same time many "expected higher education to fulfill the democratic promise of modern America."[8]

In September 1899, in a remote corner of northwest North Carolina, two brothers founded Watauga Academy for public school teachers. Blanford Barnard (B.B.) and Dauphin Disco (D.D.) Dougherty established a school in Boone because they believed that those in the "lost provinces" of North Carolina should have the same educational opportunity as any one else. The "promise of democracy" should be available to everyone.[9] What began as Watauga Academy has become, through several transformations, Appalachian State University. Up until 1967, the exclusive purpose of this institution was in the training of those in professions of education.

This thesis examines graduate education at this institution during that period when it was a teachers college (1929-1967). The character of graduate work of teachers colleges is significantly different from the graduate work of universities. This difference is, in fact, one of the defining principles of this study. Here then is Appalachian's particular story.

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[8]Clearly higher education did not fulfill these lofty goals. The privileges that higher education offered were not available to many women and most black Americans. David O. Levine, The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press), 113. Appalachian was no different from the rest of the country in its exclusion of African-Americans. Even with its beginnings as a school purported to be responsive to the needs of the people of the "pauper counties," this sensitivity only extended to those white people who conformed to middle class values of correct speech and social aspiration. African-Americans of northwest North Carolina, no matter how conforming and aspiring, were not offered the same opportunities.

[9]Ruby Lanier, Blanford Barnard Dougherty: Mountain Educator (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1974) 26, 29.

Chapter One

"A great and imperative need in western North Carolina": Foundations for Graduate Education at Appalachian State Teachers College, 1932-1942

In early August 1942, using his own car and "gasoline salvaged from the first period of rationing," W.W. Pierson, with Arnold K. King, left Chapel Hill, North Carolina, and headed for the western mountains of the state. Pierson, the dean of the graduate school at the University of North Carolina, and King, the newly appointed assistant dean, were embarking to inspect "the experiment" underway at two mountain teachers colleges. Their experiment: offering graduate education at Western Carolina Teachers College at Cullowhee (hereafter, Western) and Appalachian State Teachers College at Boone. This had never been done in North Carolina; no institution--public or private--in the western North Carolina mountains had offered graduate level education before. Graduate education had been the special preserve of the Consolidated University of North Carolina.[1]

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[1]At this time, the three constituent institutions of the consolidated University of North Carolina were the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering at Raleigh, and The Women's College at Greensboro. Arnold K. King, The Multicampus University of North Carolina Comes of Age, 1956-1986 (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1987), xi; "Graduate School," from the Records Group Inventory, Volume 17, University of North Carolina Archives, Wilson Library, Chapel Hill (hereafter, UNC Archives).

Upon his return to Chapel Hill, Pierson submitted a report to the University of North Carolina president, Frank P. Graham. In his report, Pierson conceded that the first summer of the new venture--although enrollments were lower than hoped--was "by reason of the circumstances, I believe a fair beginning."[2] The registrar at Appalachian reported that thirty-seven first session and twenty-seven second session students had enrolled in the inaugural graduate program of the summer school. At Cullowhee, the showing had been weaker: only one term was offered and only twenty-four had enrolled.[3] Pierson concluded that "I believe that the experiment at Boone was a success. Possibly that at Cullowhee could be made one."[4]

For the first time in its history, Appalachian had offered graduate-level classes that earned credit toward a master's degree in education. This new program was organized as an agreement between Western and Appalachian and the Graduate School of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (hereafter, UNC)--the institution that provided the faculty and awarded the degree--and allowed for up to one third of

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[2]W.W. Pierson, Chapel Hill, to Frank P. Graham, Chapel Hill, 10 August 1942, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[3]There are discrepancies between enrollment figures, depending on the source. For instance, for the first summer, the enrollment figure for the graduate school that the writer found in the administrative papers of the University of North Carolina Graduate School was sixty-four, as listed above. However, another source, in a brief history of the graduate school to 1963 written by Cratis Williams, Dean of Appalachian's Graduate School, lists only fifty-one as the graduate enrollment figure that first summer. Classification of students--whether degree or non-degree graduate students--had not been clearly established. Minor discrepancies in enrollments are common up into the 1960s. Graduate School, UNC Archives; [Enrollment figures], B.B. Dougherty Papers, University Archives and Records, D.D. Dougherty Hall, Appalachian State University, Boone (hereafter, ASU Archives).

[4]Pierson to Graham, 10 August 1942, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

the credit necessary to fulfill requirements for the Master of Arts in Education degree to be taken in extension at Appalachian or Western.[5] These were modest beginnings, to be sure. Still, Appalachian had legitimately added graduate education to its program for teachers and other educational personnel. Many obstacles remained and not a few had preceded its commencement.

After that first summer, B.B. Dougherty, Appalachian's founder and first president, frequently closed his correspondence with some glowing reference to the new summer school graduate program. To President Graham, Dougherty wrote, "I was asked by many [at the AACTE[6] school for executives] about the graduate work of the university [UNC] and of our college. I told them that it had been a great success and so far as I know everybody was pleased with it."[7] Indeed, despite somewhat unforeseen beginnings and the austerity imposed by World War II,[8] the graduate

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[5]Pierson to Graham, 6 September 1941, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[6]American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education.

[7]Dougherty, Boone, to Graham, 5 July 1946, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[8]For a state-supported institution, declining enrollment meant that somewhat more money was received per capita from state appropriations. However, most funds came from what Appalachian could collect from the students in fees and tuition. For example, during the year 1942-43, Appalachian spent $394 per capita. The state appropriated $163 per capita, the rest, $261, came from the school's own receipts. The reality of severely reduced enrollments--due to enlistment and to out-migration from the teaching field to more lucrative industry jobs--and difficult transportation did place a burden on the State's institutions. With this in mind, the commencement of graduate level courses for teachers in the relatively inaccessible mountains of North Carolina may seem to have been an untimely proposition. Historically, even the University of North Carolina was not located in a population center, but was established as a resident institution, a community in itself, for the whole State. Appalachian, likewise, formed around the idea of resident school for a particular region. Accessibility would become a critical factor much later, in 1962, when the Governor's Commission on

program at Appalachian made remarkable progress during its first decade. In 1949, only the seventh year after offering graduate credit toward a UNC degree, and only the second year offering the master's degree outright, Dougherty could boast that Appalachian's "graduate division" attracted 586 students with degrees from 107 institutions all over the Southeast. Of this number, 338 were working toward the master's degree; the other 248 enrolled at the graduate level were attending for certificate renewal.[9]

Dougherty had good reason to be pleased, but the basis for a recognized program of graduate study at Appalachian and in western North Carolina had much more to do with the efforts of two other teachers college presidents than with President Dougherty. First, President John Calfee, of Asheville Normal and Teachers College, and then President H.T. Hunter, of Western Carolina Teachers College, persevered throughout the course of a decade (1932-1942) to win the cooperation of the UNC administration for offering graduate work in western North Carolina. Dougherty had contributed much to improving educational conditions in the State. He had played a leading role in winning the approval for the equalization of funding for the public schools of North Carolina--a feat that earned him praise as one "worthy to

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Education Beyond the High School suggested the need for new public senior colleges to be located in population centers. "Comparative Costs Per Student Enrolled, White Colleges, 1936 to 1944," Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives; North Carolina, Governor's Commission on Education Beyond the High School, Report of the Governor's Commission for Education Beyond the High School (Raleigh, N.C.: 1962), 57-59.

[9][Enrollment figures], 1949, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

rank...with Horace Mann."[10] He was instrumental in equalizing the salaries of black and white teachers in North Carolina, and he tirelessly campaigned for the welfare of public schools in the poorer, rural counties and throughout North Carolina. His vigorous campaigning garnered him significant notice among the State's leaders, and he was appointed to several posts in the State's educational administration.[11] Without a doubt, Dougherty must be seen as having had considerable influence in the history of public education in North Carolina, arguably in the Southeast.[12] However, for initiating graduate education in western North Carolina, Dougherty cannot be credited with the leading role; that must go to Calfee, Hunter, or Pierson.

Later accounts have tended to bestow the credit for founding Appalachian's graduate school on Dougherty, Chapel Wilson, the first dean of the graduate school, or even Cratis Williams, the third dean of the graduate school. It appears that current

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[10]Lanier, Mountain Educator, 158, 159; "Hillbilly's School System," Time 35 (March 25, 1940): 61, 62.

[11]From 1899 to 1916, Dougherty was the Watauga county superintendent of schools; from 1927 to 1933, a member of the State Equalization Board; from 1933 to 1943, Dougherty served as the chair of the salary committee of the State School Commission; and from 1945 until his death in 1957, he served on the State Board of Education. He was also appointed to the North Carolina Education Association's legislative committee and the State Textbook Commission. Lanier, Mountain Educator, vii, viii, 25, 71, 148, 158-162, 202-216, 217-223, 227, 228. "Dr. Dougherty grew in stature and spirit with the years. He became the trusted friend and advisor of governors. His reputation spread to all sections of North Carolina." D. Hiden Ramsey, quoted in Lanier, Mountain Educator, 227.

[12]Dougherty's name must have been sufficiently recognized in education circles that, in 1950, Henry Chauncey, the founder and president of the Educational Testing Service, approached Dougherty about serving on the executive committee of the National Teacher Examinations. Chauncey wrote twice about the appointment before Dougherty finally agreed to the proposal. Henry Chauncey, Princeton, to Dougherty, 6 October 1950, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

perceptions, based on hazy ideas of the school's history, have continued to misappropriate the founding of the graduate school.[13] In fact, none of these men really founded the graduate school.[14] A short history of the graduate program written in 1963 gave both Dougherty and Wilson most of the credit for bringing graduate education to Appalachian.[15] More dramatic, though less informed, was the statement of the Graduate Club of 1957-1958 in a memorium to Chapell Wilson on his death, which pronounced that "through his own perseverance he founded the Graduate School at Appalachian State Teachers College."[16] If not Dougherty, Chapell Wilson would

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[13]Richard Rupp, Interview by Jessica Kelley and Dorothy Tate, 18 May 1995, transcript, Cratis D. Williams Graduate School Oral History Project, Office of the Graduate Dean, Walker Hall, Appalachian State University (hereafter, GSOHP); John Thomas, Interview by Jessica Kelley, 29 June 1995, transcript, GSOHP.

[14]In an interview in the mid-1970s, then Chancellor Herbert Wey, rather inaccurately summarized the founding of the graduate school: "Mr. Chapel [*sic.*] Wilson decided that Appalachian ought to offer graduate work and he made use of Chapel Hill to get started. He talked Chapel Hill into coming up here and offering graduate school in the summer time so I started teaching graduate courses in administration for Chapel Hill. [Wey never taught any courses for UNC credit. He was not listed among the graduate faculty until 1949, two years after UNC ceased to offer courses in Boone.] Chapel [*sic.*] Wilson never intended for that to continue and, after a year or two, he got graduate work started on the campus. He kicked Chapel Hill out and we did our own graduate work." If nothing else, this excerpt demonstrates the danger of using oral history to verify historical facts. At best, many interviews can only be used to portray opinions of the past. Herbert Wey, Interview, n.d. [1970s], transcript, ASU Archives. In a 1994 interview, Wey, doubtless unintentionally, continued to alter historical fact. Herbert Wey, interview by author, 12 June 1994, Boone, tape recording, in the possession of the author.

[15]Cratis D. Williams, "A History of the Office of Graduate Studies, 1963," TMs [photocopy], Office of the Chancellor, Appalachian State University, Boone.

[16]Graduate Club, 1957-1958, "In Memory of Mr. Chapell Wilson, 1957," TMs [photocopy], The Appalachian Collection, University Hall, Appalachian State University, Boone (hereafter, A.C.).

have been a likely candidate to bring graduate work to Appalachian. He was the director of the summer school and the demonstration school, and, as Cratis Williams[17] later recalled, he had considerable authority in the running of the school.[18] Still, Wilson would not act without Dougherty's instruction or at least tacit approval, and Dougherty had not pushed for graduate work at Appalachian until after the arrangement between Western and UNC had been initiated.

In fact, it was Governor J. Melville Broughton who, in a January 1942 letter, suggested that Dougherty look into the possibilities of a cooperative graduate program with UNC.[19] When, in June that same year, the state budget officer, R.G. Deyton, confronted Dougherty with the inadvisability of offering graduate work during "the emergency," Dougherty was quick to assert that the other teachers colleges were "doing the very same thing." Furthermore, "we were the last to enter the field."

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[17]Cratis D. Williams first joined the Appalachian faculty as a member of the English department in 1942. Probably his greatest influence on the school came through his tireless work as the dean of the graduate school, which now bears his name. He became dean in 1958 and remained in that post until 1975. Williams remained active in the school in various capacities until his death in 1985.

[18]Chapell Wilson possessed many titles during his tenure at Appalachian--chair of the department of education, director of the demonstration school, director of the summer programs, and first dean of the graduate school. Wilson's responsibilities also included finding prospective faculty, convincing them to work at Appalachian for as little as they would, and also firing faculty. Apparently alluding to one of Wilson's more unpleasant tasks, one of his colleagues described him as Dougherty's "hatchet man." By all accounts, Wilson possessed considerable standing in the school's administrative hierarchy; crediting him for founding the Graduate School would be a logical, though incorrect, assumption. Cratis D. Williams, Interview, n.d. [1970s], transcript, ASU Archives, 14.

[19]Governor Broughton, Raleigh, to Dougherty, 8 January 1942, Governor Broughton Papers, North Carolina State Archives (hereafter, State Archives).

Finally, sidestepping altogether the responsibility (or credit) for the program, he asserted that "the Governor of North Carolina took the initiative in getting us into this work."[20] The implication of this letter notwithstanding, Dougherty had known of the prospective program as early as December 1941, when, at the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools conference in Louisville, he reportedly had "pumped" President Hunter and Dean William Bird of Western for information regarding the program. By this time, Western and UNC were already planning the graduate program in Cullowhee for the summer of 1942.[21] Dougherty wanted to keep abreast of all matters educational and political in the State, but he did not immediately pursue the idea of a graduate program for Appalachian. Whatever the motivations, what is certain is that Dougherty had not decided to undertake the program--or even to engage in official discussions with administrators at Cullowhee or Chapel Hill--by the time he

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[20]It seems that in his reply to Deyton, Dougherty exhibited some judicious self-deprecation. By redirecting Deyton's criticisms to the initiative taken by Western's Hunter and the Governor himself, Dougherty neatly excused himself and Appalachian from having begun a program that had not been authorized by the state budget bureau, or the legislature. Dougherty knew that being on good terms with the budget officer could be critical, especially during the war. Dougherty to R.G. Deyton, Raleigh, 1 July 1942, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[21]President Hunter dashed off a confidential letter to one of his UNC contacts after he learned that Dougherty had become interested in the proposed program between UNC and Western. Hunter betrayed some concern that the program he had worked so long to develop would be usurped by a late-comer. Hunter wondered what the "import" was of Dougherty "taking the matter up with Governor Broughton." H.T. Hunter, Cullowhee, to Guy B. Phillips, Chapel Hill, 19 January 1942, H.T. Hunter Papers, Special Collections, Hunter Library, Western Carolina University, Cullowhee (hereafter, Hunter Papers).

received the letter from the Governor.[22] Yet, Appalachian did join in the cooperative venture that first summer. How had this opportunity arisen in 1942?

In 1932, John Calfee, president of Asheville Normal and Teachers College (hereafter, Asheville)--now the University of North Carolina at Asheville--appears to have been the first to recommend degree-earning graduate courses in western North Carolina.[23] In early November, he wrote to President Graham and proposed an extension program by which teachers could earn graduate credit toward a UNC master's degree by attending summer classes at Asheville. Calfee maintained that "the financial distress of teachers in Western North Carolina it seems to me warrants an opportunity to make a beginning on the master's degree at the least expense possible."[24]

In a more detailed proposition to Dean Pierson, Calfee appealed on behalf of teachers and stressed the "great and imperative need in the educational program of western North Carolina. Our teachers need encouragement." The University of North Carolina would provide the faculty, the administration, some of the faculty salary, and eventually the degree, while Asheville would provide the summer facilities. Calfee

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[22]Dougherty to Governor Broughton 10 January 1942, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[23]The University of North Carolina first conducted a summer normal school in Chapel Hill in 1877. Subsequently, eight other centers were established, at least two of which were in western North Carolina, with state funding. However, these early teacher institutes did not carry credit, much less graduate credit toward a University degree. Dumas Malone, Edwin A. Alderman: A Biography (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1940), 38.

[24]John E. Calfee, Asheville, to Graham, 1 November 1932, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

stressed he could only manage $300 as a compensation to each UNC faculty member, but he thought that three faculty members would suffice to teach a few courses in history, English, and education. Calfee believed graduate level courses for teachers would "be the shortest way out of our educational slump and period of distress."[25] Pierson replied that, while the welfare of western North Carolina teachers was indeed important, "notwithstanding, it was the unanimous opinion of those whom I consulted that the University should not accept your proposal to offer a series of graduate courses [at Asheville]," for several reasons. The University of North Carolina only offered education courses in extension, and even these were restricted to a few "extension centers controlled and directed by the Extension Division." Administrating the necessary standards of an extension course in Asheville could prove difficult. Furthermore, other proposals for extension courses submitted in the past had been rejected. Accepting Calfee's, Pierson believed, could trigger numerous proposals for similar extension programs, a possibility Pierson wanted to avoid. Then too, there was the problem of inadequate facilities, especially the library, at Asheville. Since the degree was to be awarded by UNC, clearly that third of the course work to be completed at Asheville would have to meet at least minimum standards. Perhaps the UNC reputation was also at stake by approving such course offerings.

These were lean years for everyone; probably the most telling reason for turning down the proposal was that in 1932 State resources for education were being stretched. The Depression certainly did not exempt the graduate school at UNC from

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[25]Calfee to Pierson, 6 December 1932, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

financial difficulty. In his 1934 annual report to the president, Pierson noted the decline in graduate student enrollment, especially of women,[26] and posited some reasons. The "obvious explanation" lay in the "reduced economic resources of students, and in the diminished and limited resources of the University from which aid to prospective students might be derived." Moreover, the demand for people with advanced degrees was lower than in 1929.[27]

Pierson was aware of the administrative costs--more committee meetings, inspection trips, increased paperwork--to the University, and further, as a proponent of consolidation, he sought to minimize any duplication of programs among the state-supported institutions of North Carolina. He raised this issue in a report to Graham. "The University of North Carolina is experiencing reorganization and readjustment in which it is perhaps laying new foundations." With the consolidation of the three units of UNC in 1932, Pierson faced significant new administrative responsibilities as dean of the graduate school of the consolidated university. Pierson realized that each new program or policy could be setting a precedent, and he was committed to reasserting "the will of the Institution." These two factors doubtless influenced his negative decision regarding inaugurating extension courses at a little-known institution in the western North Carolina mountains. By necessity, this was a time for retrenchment, for reigning in, not for pursuing half-constructed proposals.[28]

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[26]Pierson to Graham, 4 December 1933, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[27]"The Graduate School Report of the Dean, 1933-1934," [*c.*August 1934], Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[28]Ibid.

There was also the possibility of lost revenue for UNC through such a program. For example, Appalachian had experienced an influx of students in the early 1930s from the higher priced institutions, including UNC.[29] In 1932, Dean Pierson had not yet determined that offering graduate extension courses could do much for enrollment development, financial solvency, and quality control at the Graduate School of UNC. If any of the western North Carolina schools offered graduate work at a substantial savings, the University stood to lose some students. If any teachers desired work toward a master's degree, they would have to be in residence at Chapel Hill.[30] For the UNC graduate school, the cost of offering extension courses in western North Carolina far outweighed the benefits; there would be no graduate program in western North Carolina in the summer of 1933. However, while President Calfee's plan failed in 1932, it did not signal the end of attempts to offer graduate education in the western mountains of North Carolina.

In 1934, the issue of a UNC extension program in western North Carolina arose again, this time on the initiative of H.T. Hunter, president of Western Carolina Teachers College. Late in 1934, he proposed that UNC "take over the plant of Western Carolina Teachers College" to offer a summer school in 1935 for six to twelve weeks. His somewhat undeveloped proposition left the responsibility for planning this program to the University. Hunter's proposal evinced no awareness of the same request put before Pierson by Asheville's Calfee only two years before, for his

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[29]Lanier, Mountain Educator, 108.

[30]Pierson to Calfee, 15 December 1932, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

proposal showed no signs of addressing the particular problems that compelled Pierson to decline such a program in 1932. Despite Hunter's arguments for offering courses critically needed by western North Carolina teachers (retaining students that might go to Tennessee for further study, and combining study and recreation in the "fine climate" of the mountains) Pierson again declined the offer.[31] Using a scarcely altered copy of his 1932 letter to Calfee, Pierson informed Hunter of the impossibility of offering such courses at Western for the same reasons they had not been offered at Asheville.[32] Hunter wrote back immediately and, although he expressed regret that something could not be worked out, thanked Pierson for the time spent considering the bid and intimated that there would be other proposals in the future.[33] President Hunter would not be giving up.

Finally, in August of 1941, Hunter submitted a second recommendation for graduate work at Western. This second appeal manifested greater thought and refinement of his first argument for offering such a program. Again he stressed the need to offer opportunities for western North Carolina teachers to update their training. Then wisely he explained that in the long run such an offering would benefit UNC. His logic was that graduate work would provide higher training for western North Carolina educators; presumably they would become better teachers who would in turn

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[31]Hunter to Graham, 13 December 1934, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[32]Pierson to Hunter, 6 February 1935, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[33]Hunter to Pierson, 9 February 1935, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

generate better prepared students entering the colleges and UNC.[34] This time, not only was Pierson amenable to the idea, but he even asserted that "there are reasons of urgency which should cause us to reconsider the proposal and probably to act favorably on it."[35] What had changed in the intervening six years? It is unlikely that Hunter's more closely-reasoned argument can be credited. Nor had much changed between 1934 and 1941 in Western's capability to offer graduate work. Instead, the explanation may lie in a shift in policy at UNC, due in part to a particular study Pierson directed during the summer of 1940. This alteration would affect the relationship of UNC to the teachers colleges, including Appalachian.

The consolidation of North Carolina's state-supported institutions of higher education and the manner in which these institutions would interact had long been a question for the State legislature and the administration of the various institutions. Pierson in particular delved into the subject and its ramifications. He was rightly concerned with how the interaction between the three units of the University and with the other state-supported senior colleges would affect the integrity of graduate education in the State. Pierson was a conscientious administrator, attempting always to see the complexity of an issue and realizing the possibly negative results of hasty decisions. Usually construed as a strength, his caution and tight reign on programs under his control nevertheless drew some criticism. He did believe strongly that the University at Chapel Hill should be the leader in the State, indeed, in the South,

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[34]Hunter to Pierson, 18 August 1941, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[35]Pierson to Graham, 6 September 1941, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

especially in regard to graduate education. This conviction guided his thinking on extension graduate programs under the aegis of UNC. An able and strong administrator, he was, however, a flexible man. This is clear in his correspondence in which he admits willingness to see a problem another way. To one critic, Pierson conceded that, even though he had given much thought to the problems of consolidation and believed that he had struck on some conclusions, he could and would "change and modify the opinions as soon as those opinions are proved to be wrong."[36]

Graduate education, in Pierson's mind, should not simply be construed as an extension of the undergraduate program. It should be separate entity in the school and the "center of the creative work of the University."[37] Moreover, it was expensive, and since quality should not be jeopardized due to expense, Pierson set himself to the project of increasing efficiency on a state-wide level. He believed maximum efficiency and increased quality of graduate education could be accomplished by avoiding duplication of programs throughout the State, by establishing recognized minimum standards, by achieving inter-institutional cooperation, and by strongly encouraging the

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[36]"The Graduate School Report of the Dean, 1933-1934," [*c.*August 1934], Graduate School, UNC Archives; Pierson to Hinkle, 3 April 1934, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[37]Edwin Greenlaw, quoted in "The Graduate School Report of the Dean, 1933-1934," [*c.*August 1934], Graduate School, UNC Archives.

colleges to concentrate on undergraduate education.[38] How might this work? Pierson would look to other state systems for working models.

To this end, Pierson proposed "a study of State control of graduate instruction in public institutions; of the offering of graduate instruction by state universities in other publicly supported institutions; and of voluntary cooperation within the state of public and private institutions respecting such instruction." Considering the still-evolving nature of the consolidation of the University of North Carolina and the two proposals for graduate instruction at the teachers colleges, this investigation was particularly timely.[39] During the summer of 1940, Pierson and other members of the UNC administration traveled to Michigan to examine its state-supported system of higher education. They returned with a generally favorable report. Pierson concluded that the system whereby the University in Ann Arbor controlled virtually every aspect

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[38]Pierson's philosophy on graduate education, though during his time may have been criticized, found voice again in 1962, when a Governor's commission recommended that careful oversight and restriction of the State's graduate education continue due to expense and quality-control, essentially what Pierson had been working for thirty years before. The Governor's Commission on Education Beyond the High School, 53, 54.

[39]The proposal suggested that representatives of the teachers colleges were to be on the committee. Though no reference has been found that directly links Dougherty to this committee, he would have been the most likely candidate from Appalachian. These committee members did not all travel to Michigan in the summer of 1940--clearly Dougherty did not--but they all would have met to discuss the findings of the travel committee. This may explain Dougherty's apparent knowledge of the Michigan system in a letter to Governor Broughton: "I have heard a great deal about the system of graduate work done in teachers' colleges in cooperation with the University of Michigan. I have discussed this matter with some people [the investigation committee?] who have been there to study it." Dougherty to Broughton, 10 January 1942, Graduate School, UNC Archives; "Project of Investigation," Graduate School, UNC Archives.

of graduate work done at the multiple campuses prevented the development of autonomous graduate schools at the teachers colleges. This, he believed, was a positive outcome.[40] Minimum standards, that in Pierson's mind might be in jeopardy at the teachers colleges, could thus be maintained by the University administration, which could restrict the number of courses offered at the constituent schools to prevent needless duplication. Pierson and other administrators put a premium on maintaining quality, control, and saving money. The Michigan system had shown that offering graduate degrees through extension could advance these goals.[41]

By the beginning of October 1941, the administrative board of the Graduate School at UNC--now mindful of the benefits of UNC-controlled extension programs--decided to undertake the venture that President Hunter had proposed. Pierson recommended to President Graham that graduate work toward a master's degree in education be offered by UNC in Cullowhee during the summer quarter in 1942. The recommendation carried the stipulation that the Administrative Board of the Graduate School of UNC would have full administrative control--over requirements and regulations, admission of students, the designation of the graduate faculty, and the awarding of all diplomas.[42] Since President Graham was away at the time, Pierson wrote to Hunter himself. "For your personal and confidential information," he disclosed, the administrative board "voted to adopt a resolution" that would, under

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[40]Pierson to Hunter, 6 September 1941, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[41]Pierson to Graham, 6 September 1941, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[42]Pierson to Graham, 3 October 1941, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

the auspices of UNC, offer "graduate work in the field of Education on the campus of Western Carolina Teachers College....I have the feeling that [Graham] will approve the resolution...."[43] President Graham did approve the program and in the summer of 1942, the first graduate courses were offered at Western and Appalachian.

It had been ten years since a graduate program in education was first proposed for western North Carolina by John Calfee,[44] and although Dougherty had played no part in the early attempts to bring graduate education to the western North Carolina mountains, it was to be Dougherty's college[45] that capitalized on the cooperative graduate program advanced by Calfee and Hunter.

How had Appalachian, in the eleventh hour, enrolled in this new program? Curiously, although Dougherty ostensibly knew of the plans underway between Western and UNC, he had been unable or unwilling to gather details, and he had not demonstrated much interest in it until Governor Broughton wrote to him in January 1942 suggesting that he look into the program. Dougherty tended to focus his energies

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[43]Pierson to Hunter, 7 October 1941, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[44]Though Calfee had been the first to propose a UNC extension center in the western mountains, when the program was finally approved for 1942, Asheville was not a part of it.

[45]The possessive when referring to Appalachian is intentional. Dougherty seemed to have thought of it this way and certainly his contemporaries saw Appalachian as manifestly Dougherty. "You have built a wonderful monument for yourself," one former member of Appalachian's Board of Trustees wrote to Dougherty. Bessie Beall Reid to Dougherty, 13 June 1949, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives. Even more directly, another school friend wrote, "I have always felt that your name and this school are synonymous. The growth and development of this fine educational institution is a great tribute to you personally." J.W. Hamilton to Dougherty, 26 May 1949, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

on the state government in his pursuit of developing Appalachian. He made the trip down to Raleigh every month, sometimes several times a month, to wander the halls of the legislature, lobbying for Appalachian. He enjoyed his politics and consorted well with the legislators in Raleigh. The possibility of working through other avenues for school development had not received nearly as much of Dougherty's attention, and, in his quick response to Governor Broughton's suggestion and subsequent incursion into graduate education, Dougherty was simply being consistent to form: look to the state government for guidance and support for Appalachian.

Dougherty's ceaseless preoccupation with wresting finances for Appalachian from the legislature--and his seeming delight in returning money to the state treasury--may have averted his attention from activity at UNC and Western. At the very least, Dougherty did not seem to be alert to the possibilities of working with Chapel Hill for program development at Appalachian. Still, it would seem that Dougherty's close ties with President Hunter would have accounted for greater interest from Dougherty in the program. As early as 1924, Hunter and Dougherty corresponded about their mutual goals and mutual opponents as presidents of teachers colleges.[46] Beyond that,

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[46]Later, as both presidents struggled to have their schools recognized by the Southern Association and their own state legislatures, Hunter especially conveyed an attitude of misunderstood defensiveness; the survival of their schools depended on their cooperation, or so it seems. In a 22 November 1940 letter, Hunter wrote the following to Dougherty: "I appreciate your putting in a word for us before the Budget Commission. I called attention to the fact that Boone and Cullowhee are about the only four year colleges in North Carolina not now accredited by the Southern Association, and insisted that the legislature ought to make it possible for us to meet the minimum requirements of this Association. I think we ought to fight the thing out along this line together." Again, in a 17 December 1941 letter, Hunter presses Dougherty to stick together: "In my judgement, if the high moguls [administration of

Dougherty always petitioned the legislature for money on behalf of Appalachian and the other teachers colleges, especially Western. Yet, remarkably, considering the seemingly close working relationship between Western and Appalachian, there is no extant correspondence between the two presidents that directly addresses the prospective graduate program until after one was in place.[47] Why had Dougherty been slow to act on the possibility of a graduate program at Appalachian?

Might isolationism have been responsible for the late entry of Appalachian in the graduate program? Isolationism refers more to a state of mind, an imposed or accepted mentality, while isolation refers more to physical separation. The relative isolation of Boone did not seem so much a factor as might be expected. For one, there

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the universities and private colleges] in the saddle have their way, numbers of the teachers colleges now in the [Southern] Association will be let out the back door within the next few years. Wonder if we could not take some steps to get that movement headed off?" Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[47]Dougherty did talk to President Hunter about the program at the Southern Association meeting in Louisville in December 1941. In fact, by Hunter's account, Dougherty fairly cornered and interrogated him and his dean about the prospective arrangement between Western and Chapel Hill. Was Dougherty interested in Western's arrangement with UNC because he thought that Appalachian should do the same, or was he interested because he simply liked to know what was going on in the State? Perhaps his motivations lay more along lines of the latter. After the conference in early December or 1941, Dougherty did not pursue further a graduate program with UNC. Not until the Governor's suggestion did he do so. Hunter to Phillips, 19 January 1942, Hunter Papers; "I wish I didn't have so much interest in the state as a whole," Dougherty once admitted to a senator. Was this comment indicative of Dougherty's general interest in education in the State as a whole? With his extensive service on numerous State agencies, one could safely conclude that at the outset, Dougherty's motivation for wanting to know about the graduate program for teachers at Western was simply another manifestation of his interest in educational affairs in the State. Dougherty to W.F. Marshall, Raleigh, 17 February 1953, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

is some question as to whether Boone was truly isolated. In the early 1940s, two bus lines serviced the town; both offered inexpensive fares to points throughout North Carolina.[48] By 1940, Appalachian already had an established summer school known by teachers throughout the East.[49] Visiting faculty from school districts as far afield as Florida and New Jersey, and from universities such as Chicago and Columbia, further countered the notion that Appalachian was isolated.[50] Nevertheless, it often seemed that Appalachian purposely portrayed itself as isolated to its own benefit. Many came to the mountains in the summer not only to escape the heat of the lower elevations but also to escape a faster paced world. The perception--mostly contrived--that life in the mountains was more relaxed, more elemental, and somehow purer has been maintained even into the 1990s.[51] Leisure mixed with study remained an effective drawing card

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[48]Greyhound and Trailways provided service out of Boone. For $3.80, an individual could be transported to Charlotte and back. Rhododendron, 1943. The Appalachian (December 1941).

[49]The summer school enjoyed immense popularity. For instance, during the 1940 summer sessions, 700 students enrolled in the first session and 547 in the second session. These students represented fourteen states and seventy-one North Carolina counties. Many students came to take classes under the visiting faculty. The Appalachian (September 1940); Cratis Williams, Boone, to Elaini Bingham, Center for Developmental Education, Appalachian State University, 31 August 1984, Cratis D. Williams Papers, Appalachian Collection (hereafter, Williams Papers, A.C.).

[50]When the question of isolation was put to Herbert Wey, president and chancellor of Appalachian from 1969 to 1979, he simply responded that it was not. He named numerous cooperative programs with outside institutions and agencies. The question remains, however, of the possible isolationism of Appalachian's first half century under Dougherty. Herbert Wey, interview by author, 12 June 1994, Boone, tape recording, in the possession of the author.

[51]Anita Parlow addresses the lure to urban flatlanders of the mythologized easy mountain culture. She also shows the irony implicit in the destruction of the mountains and its traditional culture by land developers who play to the efforts of urbanites to

for Appalachian throughout the years. There was some sense--perennially marketed--that Appalachian could escape many of the evils of society without foregoing the benefits.[52] The fact is, whatever isolation that Appalachian could claim was mostly a matter of choice--not true isolation but contrived for reasons of generating a certain appeal and, for Dougherty, for maintaining a degree of control.[53] Whether or not Boone's isolation affected Appalachian's entrance into the graduate field is arguable; Appalachian's isolationism may be the more influential factor. Physical isolation was

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escape a fast-pace world. In seeking the mythos of the mountain culture, whatever that is perceived to be, outsiders have actually worked to the degeneration of that same culture. One wonders too if Appalachian is not also implicated in this arrangement. Established as a resource for the southern mountaineers, it has instead become an institution almost exclusively catering to non-locals. Anita Parlow, "The Land Development Rag," in Colonialization in Modern America: The Appalachian Case, ed. Helen Matthews Lewis, Linda Johnson, and Donald Askins (Boone, N.C.: The Appalachian Consortium Press, 1978), 177-198.

[52]When this point--peaceful isolation--was disturbed it was specially noted. "Nestled deep in the heart of the Appalachian hills rested a spot of quiet solitude and seclusion, free from the rushing turmoil of time's everflowing current....But now the present crisis [World War II] affecting every phase of American life even the most remote and secluded of places has made our Appalachian no exception." Rhododendron 1944, 4.

[53]Cratis Williams referred to Dougherty's administrative style as "paternalistic." "Dr. Dougherty was kind of a father figure. It was easy for him to retain this image because he had been one of the founders. Because the institution was small, it was not necessary with a faculty of 45 to delegate power. Even the chairmen of the departments were almost without authority." Still, Williams admitted most faculty were content. "We enjoyed the patriarchal regime. We liked Dr. Dougherty. It was not until later that we could see this." Herbert Wey also implied that Dougherty's fifty-six years at the helm of the institution might have been a little long. The "university needed somebody who would move us beyond what Dr. Dougherty had imagined....That had really outgrown its day." Cratis Williams, Interview, n.d. [1970s], transcript, ASU Archives. Herbert Wey, Interview, n.d. [1970s], transcript, ASU Archives.

not an absolute condition, nor one that adequately accounts for Appalachian's late entry into plans for graduate programs in the western North Carolina mountains.

When Dougherty did look into the plan that Hunter had initiated for Western, he betrayed what seems to be a little hesitancy about the program, but he determined that "a little later we would request a conference with President Hunter, President Graham, and ourselves."[54] Later, upon returning from a conference with UNC administrators in early February, Dougherty wrote to President Hunter. He expressed concern over the feasibility of the plan, confessing that "it staggered me when I was told that we would have to underwrite the finances; they would select the teachers and fix the salaries....I do not want to be financially destroyed in this movement."[55]

It was Western that should have been more concerned.[56] They were operating with a twelve thousand dollar deficit--no small sum in 1942--and to think of spending an additional $500 in library books for each course offered--as suggested by UNC--seemed impossible.[57]

Dougherty too, had good reason to be concerned over financing the graduate program. The per capita appropriations for Appalachian consistently remained at the

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[54]Dougherty to Broughton, 10 January 1942, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[55]Dougherty to Hunter, 2 February 1942, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[56]The fact that Western was having financial difficulties and was unable to meet minimum salary standards prevented a Southern Association accreditation in 1942 (the year Appalachian was accredited) or 1943. Hunter to Dougherty, 31 December 1942, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives; Dean William E. Bird, Memphis, to Hunter [telegram], 4 December 1942, Hunter Papers.

[57]And in fact it was, for Western. "Cullowhee did not add many books. . ." Pierson to Graham, 10 August 1942, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

bottom among the other state-supported schools. The library, one of the first facilities examined to determine whether the school could adequately support graduate work, received, per capita, only $2.58 in 1941. This was half of the amount of the next lowest figure. Although Western was unable to purchase books for graduate courses in 1942, they received $5.23 per capita, over twice the amount Appalachian received for books. Salaries at Appalachian also remained at the bottom.[58] Yearly, the faculty at Appalachian had faced the reality of a nine-month contract for twelve months of work. Often utilizing some appeal to a missionary vocation to neglected mountain counties, the example of his personal frugality, or even individually bargaining and cajoling faculty, Dougherty convinced many faculty members to teach in the summer sessions for no extra salary. Dougherty later admitted that the arrangement whereby visiting faculty received compensation for teaching in the summer while regular faculty who taught in the same period did not receive pay, did not "develop a wholesome atmosphere on the campus."[59]

Furthermore, the assistant director of the state budget, R.G. Deyton, seemed a little too interested in finding fault with the funding arrangements at Appalachian.[60]

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[58][Enrollment figures], [Salary figures], 1941, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[59]Dougherty to C.B. Smith, Troy, Alabama, 8 November 1951, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives; Lanier, Mountain Educator, 126.

[60]Deyton did not seem to be a great friend of the teachers colleges; at least that is how they saw it. Hunter had this to say: "I do appreciate your putting in a lick for us with Deyton....Surely the state will not add to our burdens by reducing our appropriation further. We do not yet know just how much Deyton is going to cut our appropriation this year." Hunter to Dougherty, 5 April 1944, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

Had Deyton considered Dougherty's track record, he would have found one of the most frugal college administrators in the nation. Appalachian was not the only institution to find Deyton's budgeting too restrictive.[61] "There seems to be the possibility of a 'stretch-out' system being worked on all of us by a budget bureau which is more interested in making a budgetary showing that it is any other," confided one UNC official. Continuing, he expressed his concern that "responsibility for educational procedure in this state" would be usurped by the budget bureau. "It is not going to be an easy fight."[62] Inexplicably, according to Dougherty, this "stretch-out" was being imposed even though "there is to be surplus of 17 millions of dollars in the State Treasury."[63]

In June 1942, Deyton wrote to Dougherty with his calculations of available money for the summer school, spelling out in terse directives the conditions that the war had placed on the state budget, and warning of the dangers of overspending. Regarding the summer school, he asserted that "you cannot pay anything out of your appropriations, nor out of other receipts, for summer school. Summer school is on a self-supporting basis and must be kept that way." After reiterating this point, he addressed the graduate work, contending that "as far as the graduate work you are giving there is concerned, I think you had better plan to cut that out...." He gave the

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[61]"We too have been out rather materially and we are facing the same thing with Mr. Deyton that you are facing." Leon Meadows, President, East Carolina Teachers College, to Dougherty, 23 September 1943, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[62]Things have not changed much. Phillips to Hunter, 17 June 1942, Hunter Papers.

[63]Dougherty to R.G. Deyton, Raleigh, 1 July 1942, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

impression that he was unaware that UNC had already approved the venture, declaring that on account of UNC's four quarter system--a "speed-up" measure in place due to the war--the graduate program in Boone was not necessary, "and the professors would not be available for carrying on this work." He warned Dougherty "that things are not as easy as people think," implying that Dougherty's interest in bringing degree-earning graduate work to Appalachian was irresponsible, if not reckless. In correspondence to Western's President Hunter, Deyton was more direct: "neither you [Western] nor Boone have any business in the graduate field, and [your financial difficulty] shows that you do not. It was a scheme to further somebody's little red wagon, but was not set up in the appropriation and should never have been contemplated."[64]

Perhaps a little perturbed, Dougherty responded in hardly-veiled satirical tones. Referring to Deyton's calculations of the allotment for the summer school, Dougherty countered, "I imagine you think you have done pretty well but you left out $1,705. that we need very much to carry over as summer reserve....We shall thank you very much if you will let us carry over the $1,705. as a balance for next year as we will sorely need it. Please don't forget this." Then continuing to answer to each of Deyton's barbs, Dougherty reminded him that "Appalachian has always maintained its own summer school," and that if the state expects "this college...to prepare teachers for the public school," then "I hope that next year the Legislature will make it easier for us." He believed that those working toward their degrees in the summer ought to have

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[64]Deyton to Dougherty, 27 June 1942, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives; Deyton to Hunter, 9 June 1942, Hunter Papers.

as much support as those that attend during the year.[65] In fact, enrollment records show that the summer school had consistently drawn more students, and from a wider area of the Southeast, than the regular terms, despite lagging state support.[66]

Dougherty then spoke to the need and the purpose of the new graduate program:

> Now I come to the Master's Certificate Department. The Charter of this college provides that the full intent of this college is to prepare teachers for the public schools. We have always followed the line of usefulness to the State. Now the State recognizes a Naster's [*sic.*] Certificate which is not so much a Master's Degree as it is additional efficiency in teaching. Would it not be reasonable for the State to expect this college to do whatever it takes to make the public schools efficient?[67]

In this, Dougherty reaffirmed his lifelong vision for the school.

Appalachian's mission was to prepare teachers for North Carolina's schools, and the introduction of a graduate program was an extension of this vision, not a new program, per se, and certainly not a departure from the single purpose of the school. Dougherty consistently downplayed the possible academic--that is, non-applied knowledge--implications of the degree by speaking of it in terms of its practical, what he called "carry-back," utility for "improving the instructional services" of North Carolina and the South.[68] By March 1949, after Appalachian's first year offering its

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[65]Dougherty to Deyton, 1 July 1942, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[66][Enrollment figures], Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[67]Dougherty to Deyton, 1 July 1942, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[68]Dougherty to D. Hiden Ramsey, Asheville, 21 July 1945, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives; Dougherty to C.B. Eller, North Wilkesboro, 17 April 1948, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives; Dougherty to Ramsey, 14 March 1949, Ramsey Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Chapel Hill (hereafter Southern Historical Collection);

own graduate degree, he still felt compelled to distinguish the graduate work offered at Appalachian from that of the universities. "Our degree will not be a regular research degree as it found in the universities. It will be a teacher's degree, planned to improve the instructional services in the elementary and high schools of our state and of the South."[69] Another feature of the graduate work, standard among teachers colleges in the 1940s, was that it was offered exclusively during the summer sessions. Appalachian's particular success with the summer session graduate school for teachers also hinged on the reputable tradition of summer schools taught by visiting faculty.

The summer school had long been a means whereby Appalachian, as Dougherty continually averred, could extend its services to teachers, school administrators, and school superintendents. In fact, the summer school and its legacy of success dovetailed nicely with the inauguration of a graduate program at Appalachian. The North Carolina Superintendent of Public Instruction, Clyde Erwin, later recognized this connection and suggested that this summer program would ease the transition to offering graduate-level courses throughout the year.[70] For years prior to the inauguration of degree-track graduate work, Appalachian had catered to the

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Dougherty to D.B. Bryan, Wake Forest College, 18 January 1950, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[69]Dougherty to Ramsey, 14 March 1949, Ramsey Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

[70]Clyde A. Erwin, Raleigh, to Dougherty, 7 November 1947, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives. In this letter, Erwin pledged his support for the development of the graduate program. He indicated that Appalachian's history of successful summer programs would provide a natural transition for graduate offerings to be extended into the regular term.

needs of post-graduate teacher-students. The records show that a large number of summer school participants held baccalaureate degrees and sometimes even master's degrees from other institutions--a fact of which Dougherty was quite proud.[71] Most courses taught by the visiting faculty were numbered 500 or above, suggesting that the courses were intended for those already holding degrees, primarily in-service teachers.[72] Again, before the graduate program began in earnest at Appalachian, a foundation had been laid that at least created an environment that eased the transition to offering graduate degrees. While the prospect of several University faculty receiving compensation for their summer teaching out of Appalachian's budget may have been cause for considerable dissension among the underpaid regular faculty, the history of successful summer schools conducted in the same fashion may have precluded any specific faculty resistance to the summer school plans for 1942.

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[71]For example, in the first summer session of 1939, out of 716 total students, 136 already held the bachelors degree, and four even held master's degrees. In 1940, 216 and eight held the bachelors and master's degrees respectively and represented sixty-nine different institutions. [Enrollment figures], 1930s and 1940s, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[72]Bulletin: Appalachian State Teachers College, 1943-1952. The fact that many summer school courses were intended for those already possessing bachelor's degrees may account for Cratis Williams' statement in the 1968 Bulletin that graduate courses began in 1937. Even later, as Williams undertook to write the history of Appalachian State University, he noted that "as far back as the mid 1930s Appalachian offered summer courses in education with graduate school numbers." In and of itself, a "graduate school number" does not certify true graduate-level courses, and the fact that these courses carried no recognized graduate credit does render the claim of offering graduate education earlier than the UNC extension program a little suspect. Still, as Williams pointed out, Appalachian had already established a reputation for successful summer schools with visiting faculty. Williams to Bingham, 31 August 1984, Graduate School, Williams Papers, A.C.

Within its first decade of existence, Appalachian employed visiting faculty to teach summer courses. Although initially local in its drawing power, the school gradually developed significant prestige through its summer programs. Early on, the visiting faculty consisted of experienced public school teachers from such nearby towns as Lenoir and North Wilkesboro, and from Guilford and Rockingham counties.[73] Dougherty often recruited them personally or, as was more often the case, teachers contacted him hoping to secure a position on the summer school teaching faculty. He often had more inquiries than openings.

Over the years, Appalachian developed a regional, and finally, in the late thirties and forties, a national reputation for its summer school. Increasingly, visiting faculty came from farther abroad and brought with them higher credentials or national reputations. At a time when none of the faculty, including Dougherty, possessed a doctorate,[74] the ability to attract E.E. Randolph--with a doctorate from Harvard--in 1911 anticipated what was to become routine into the mid-1960s: Appalachian had little difficulty attracting highly trained and often renowned visiting faculty. As a result, it also consistently attracted an increasingly large and diverse student body.[75] Although early enrollment figures often conflict--the classification of students remained inconsistent for many years--the figures do demonstrate the popularity of

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[73]The Dew Drop, August 1910, 6.

[74]Although Dougherty was often referred to as "Doctor Dougherty"--indeed, he referred to himself this way--he never received an earned doctorate. He did receive two honorary doctorates: a doctor of letters from Elon College and a doctor of education from Wake Forest College. Lanier, Mountain Educator, 99, 226.

[75]The Dew Drop, August 1911, 7.

Appalachian's summer school. Throughout the twenties, thirties, and forties, enrollments during the summer sessions were often many times greater than the enrollments of the regular terms. The 1922-23 school year only had an enrollment of 42, while the 1923 summer school had an enrollment of 580. The disparity was usually not this great; still, fifty percent greater enrollments in the summer school over the regular term was the standard. This contrast remained common throughout the period that the focus of the institution was on teacher education.[76] This fact is not especially remarkable, however, since many of its potential students had only the summers free for attending classes. Dougherty often reiterated "the excellent medium" that the summer school provided for the training of the "tip-top teacher," and he sought to provide the ideal environment for in-service teacher training. To him, Appalachian was that ideal environment, where experience could be linked with the discussions of the latest philosophies and methodologies in education, and vice versa.[77] That teacher-students flocked to Appalachian every summer to acquire new ideas and skills from some of the best theorists and practitioners in the various educational fields is not particularly surprising. What invites more investigation is the

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[76]"Some facts about Appalachian State Teachers College," [*c.*1933], Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives; Lanier, Mountain Educator, 127; Bulletin, 1950-1970. In 1957, the State-wide average for summer quarter instructional production was thirty-eight percent of the other quarters. At Appalachian it was over eighty-six percent, by far the highest percentage for summer school production in the State. North Carolina Board of Higher Education, Biennial Report, 1957-1959, 25.

[77]"Some Suggested Canons for the Training of Teachers in North Carolina, Assuming that All Teachers are College Graduates." Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

apparent ease that Appalachian had, especially from the late thirties on, in securing the services of educators of national repute.

In a March 1942 issue, The Appalachian announced that once again visiting faculty were to teach classes and lead workshops at the college the coming summer. The writer noted, clearly with some pride, that included among them were those "from the most progressive school systems in the country [and] nationally known educators from leading colleges and universities."[78] School superintendents representing most southern states and "outstanding educators" from top northern universities such as Columbia (including the Horace Mann School), Chicago, and Indiana were engaged for the summer sessions.[79] Among many distinguished visiting faculty, Roma Gans and William H. Kilpatrick topped the list. Highly respected in the field of primary education, Roma Gans of Columbia University Teachers College, spent portions of four consecutive summers at Appalachian, beginning in 1940, teaching special workshop courses. William H. Kilpatrick, a key spokesperson in progressive education and a protégé of John Dewey,[80] conducted workshops in the summers of 1943 and 1944 at Appalachian.[81] Cratis Williams later recalled how "the pleasantness of the

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[78]The Appalachian, 13 March 1942.

[79]The Appalachian, 1938-1943; Bulletin, 1943-1952.

[80]Kilpatrick is credited for, among other things, developing the "project method" in education. John D. Pulliam and James Van Patten, History of Education in America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Merrill, Prentice Hall, 1995), 139; Knight, Education in the United States, 565; Samuel Tenenbaum, William Heard Kilpatrick: Trail Blazer in Education (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951).

[81]Bulletin, 1943, 1944.

place in the summer was so attractive that soon people began to come here from afar particularly for summer study...those who were here year round would flock to the seminars of Kirkpatrick [*sic.*] and Romangands [*sic.*] and others to pick up this new theory and they translated it into their own teaching the following year."[82]

Could the growth of the significance of the summer school and then the graduate program be attributed to the weather? To some degree, yes. Boone's climate did indeed attract students and visiting faculty during the summer months. It seems that every Bulletin, promotional publication, even the bill to enact a summer school endowment fund mentions the altitude--the highest summer school east of the Rockies--and superior climate of the area.[83] Claims that the fine environment promoted better health and mental stamina abound. "Here the people live longer than in any other section of the South. HERE ONE CAN DO HIS GREATEST INTELLECTUAL WORK," Dougherty would boast.[84] Others thought so too. As Dougherty remembered it, at the close of one teacher institute in 1905, Charles D. McIver, president of the

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[82]Cratis Williams, Interview, n.d. [1970s], transcript, ASU Archives. Doubtless, the incorrect names of Kilpatrick and Roma Gans were errors in transcription, and not errors in Williams' recollection.

[83]"Endowment Fund for Summer School," March 1943, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives. In July the same year, Dougherty waxed eloquent to raise money for the endowment: "There is no finer or more inspiring place to read, to think, to reflect, to commune with the Omnipotent...." Dougherty, "Appalachian State Teachers College" [request for support for the endowment], TMs [photocopy], 4 July 1943, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[84]If Dougherty's fifty-six year tenure as president of the institution is any indication, then perhaps such claims to longevity may not be so far-fetched. "To the Commission on Higher Education of North Carolina," 21 October 1953, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

North Carolina Normal and Industrial School in Greensboro, remarked from the platform that "anyone can do twice as much intellectual work in the summer at Boone...as he can in my part of the state." Not to be outdone, President Edwin Alderman of Tulane University claimed that "five times as much intellectual work" could be accomplished in Boone than in New Orleans.[85]

The influence of climate, especially the summer climate, in the American South ought not be neglected. In today's air-conditioned South, it is difficult to imagine a time when people coped without the now ubiquitous rattling vents--in every building and vehicle--exhaling cooled and dried air. "Climate may not be the key to human history, but climate does matter. In some areas, such as the American South, it matters a great deal, or at least it did until the coming of the air conditioner," claims Raymond Arsenault, who has studied the "social history of climate control" in the South. Through his study of the "air conditioning revolution" he found that in southern

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[85]"To the Commission of Higher Education," 1953, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives. Dougherty's memory of certain facts demonstrates some historical selectivity for the sake of a good story: McIver died in 1906 and Alderman was president of Tulane for only four years from 1900 to 1904. McIver did conduct a teacher institute in Boone in 1899, but the only verifiable time that Alderman and McIver worked together in conducting teacher institutes in North Carolina was for four years between 1889 and 1892. Even here, they were most often not in the same town at the same time. These institutes comprised the extent of some teachers' additional training and involved traveling around the state with one week stays in any particular town. Dougherty seems to have adjusted the facts a little. Be that as it may, it is pretty clear that these men, along with future U.S. Commissioner of Education, P.P. Claxton, did visit the area, but probably in the days before even Watauga Academy existed. Rose Howell Holder, McIver of North Carolina (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957), 90-94, 186; Dumas Malone, Edwin A. Alderman: A Biography (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1940), 38-40; Charles Lee Lewis, Philander Priestley Claxton: Crusader for Public Education (Knoxville, Tenn.: The University of Tennessee Press, 1948), 40, 41.

educational institutions, the advent of air-conditioning was "surprisingly slow...air-conditioned university buildings were rare until the late 1950s."[86] With this in mind, it is not difficult to attribute, at least in part, the popularity of Appalachian's summer school to a cooler summer climate.

This was not lost on Dougherty, visiting professors, or, doubtless, the students, who were primarily composed of teachers from "down-state" or southern non-mountain areas. Again, Dougherty: "A tremendous advantage comes in the training of teachers in service. This...must take place in the summer. Of course Boone is the ideal place for such work--the climate--the teaching force--the libraries--the observation schools."[87] Upon returning to Chapel Hill after teaching a session in the mountains, one visiting faculty member complained of his difficulty of readjusting to the heat after the time in the mountains.[88] An advertisement for the summer school placed in the Raleigh News and Observer in 1954 headlined that Boone's "Cool summer climate attracts students from entire Southeast."[89]

Arsenault is right about the effects of climate on culture. The story of Appalachian's beginnings in graduate education cannot be attributed to some

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[86]Raymond Arsenault, "The End of the Long Hot Summer: The Air Conditioner and Southern Culture," The Journal of Southern History 50 (November 1984): 597-628.

[87]"To the Commission of Higher Education," 1953, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[88]Roy Morrison, Chapel Hill, to Hunter, 29 July 1942, Hunter Papers.

[89]W. Allen Kindell, Raleigh, to the Registrar, Boone, 25 March 1954, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

"monocasual climatological determinism." Dean Pierson was likely not thinking of the advantages of a cool summer climate when he and the graduate board in Chapel Hill considered and approved President Hunter's 1941 proposal for a graduate extension center in Cullowhee. After all, if climate had been such a singular factor, the two earlier proposals for graduate extension centers in the western North Carolina mountains would surely have been accepted. Nevertheless, climate did play a part; perhaps it was not *the* factor in the inauguration of graduate programs at Cullowhee and Appalachian, but it did seem to influence the success of the programs.

Appalachian's entry into the graduate field had not been accidental, but neither had it been a step long premeditated. Dougherty had been able to benefit from various factors that did not initially involve him. Calfee and Hunter began the process and, although unsuccessful in the 1930s, did bring the prospect of graduate education in the mountains before the only people in the State that could do anything about it--Pierson and Graham. Although initially unwilling to undertake the venture for reasons of quality, control, and efficiency, Pierson did come to see that graduate education in the mountains by way of extension centers could serve the ends to which he was committed. His support was a critical factor. Also, Governor Broughton's prompting letter to Dougherty in January 1942 cannot be overlooked. It is difficult to know whether Dougherty would have joined the cooperative program without Broughton's suggestion that he do so, but at the very least, it is unlikely that Appalachian would have been a part of the inaugural summer's (1942) graduate work. Finally, a history of successful summer schools at Appalachian--whose enrollments were bolstered by

Boone's pleasant summer climate--converged nicely with the commencement of bona fide graduate education.

The questions that remain: how would the graduate program--not having been anticipated until only months before its inauguration--fit into the mission of the school? Would the graduate school become, as Dean Pierson envisioned his, "the center of creative work of the University?" Or, would it remain, as it seems Dougherty envisioned, an extension of the teacher-training program, a program with "a 'carry-back' to the classroom?" These are questions that will be addressed throughout the coming chapters.

Chapter Two

"We are under obligation to the university for the graduate school": The Cooperative Graduate Program, 1942-1948

"For the first time in the history of the college," the school paper announced in its March sixth, 1942 edition, "graduate credit will be given in the name of the University [UNC] and will be applicable toward satisfying the professional requirements for the graduate certificates, provided for under the recent certification plans of the State Department of Public Instruction."[1] For the following six summers, UNC conducted graduate courses in Boone in what was termed a "type of instructional cooperation."[2] Perhaps due to the lack of precedent for such a program, policies regulating its administration were often established after problems arose, and *cooperation* would not always have been the term participants might have used to characterize the venture. Although other factors affected the realization of the program, the fundamental problem was the lack of a consensus on the proper role of a graduate school in a teachers college. In many respects, defining the mission of the graduate

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[1]The Appalachian, 6 March 1942.

[2]Mary Bynum Pierson used this term to distinguish Boone's graduate program from other extension programs. Apparently, extension centers were not always established at other institutions of higher education. In practice however, by her own description, the two seemed to have been synonymous. Pierson, Graduate Work in the South, 127, 129.

program was never fully addressed at the outset of the program. That is, at least for Dougherty, developing a distinct philosophy that would govern, indeed justify, a graduate school seems not to have been foremost in his mind.

More pragmatic concerns inspired his thinking. Almost always on Dougherty's mind was finding the funds to run the school. The summer school was not covered by state appropriations; it had to be self-supporting.[3] To help ameliorate the strained financial situation, an endowment fund for the summer school was authorized and established in 1943. This fund would go into a general operating budget, out of which visiting faculty salaries would be paid. For the UNC faculty these were considerable, certainly more than the regular faculty and even the other visiting faculty were paid.[4] Another characteristic of the summer schools during the cooperative arrangement with UNC was that Appalachian would continue to engage numerous visiting faculty from across the eastern part of the nation, many of whom taught courses designed for people who already held a baccalaureate or even master's degrees. In other words, graduate level courses were taught for teachers wishing to renew certificates. In many ways a dual system of graduate education existed for six years at Appalachian: one set

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[3]Deyton to Dougherty, 27 June 1942, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[4]For the first summer session in 1942, each UNC faculty member (there were two) was paid $500 for the six week term. Dougherty also budgeted $3,439 for the other visiting faculty. That summer, twelve non-UNC visiting faculty members were engaged, which meant that they were paid an average of less than $287 for the six week session. The reason many visiting faculty came was not for the money. More likely they came to Appalachian during the summer because they enjoyed it and they had the opportunity to spend the summer where it was more comfortable. Dougherty to Deyton, 1 July 1942, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives; The Appalachian 13 March 1942.

of courses conducted at more or less a graduate level for certificate renewal, the other set (taught by UNC faculty) for credit to be applied toward a graduate degree.

"I am not a very changeable man," Dougherty once admitted to a member of the State School Commission.[5] Whatever else may be said of him, Dougherty, throughout his fifty-six year tenure, never deviated much from his philosophy for the school: to prepare educational personnel for the State's public schools. It was that simple. One could read something he wrote in the 1920s or the 1950s and find that his idea for the purpose of the school remained identical. He prided himself on his school's single-minded devotion to teacher education. There was to be no other purpose for the school. "Appalachian State Teachers College was organized to be a teacher-training institution, and I hope it will always remain so. There will be public schools as long as this is a State. North Carolina will be a State as long as time lasts, therefore, the Appalachian State Teachers College will have a work to do from now on," he confessed to a friend and school supporter.[6] Becoming a university, in Dougherty's mind, was tantamount to losing its distinctive identity and with it, presumably, the reputation for excellence in teacher training. "I still think that an institution ought to find itself and not try to do too many things else it would be a

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[5]Dougherty to Nathan Yelton, Raleigh, 13 April 1943, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[6]It was Dougherty's habit, seemingly not shared by others, to insert the definite article in front of Appalachian's name. Dougherty to Lloyd Griffin, Raleigh, 7 April 1944, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

university. We are making a center drive in the field of education."[7] The question was, then, would a graduate school disrupt this "center-drive"?

The article in The Appalachian that announced the advent of graduate work at Appalachian suggestively framed the new program in terms of a graduate *certificate* program.[8] Throughout the remainder of his presidency, Dougherty spoke of the graduate work in terms of a "teachers degree...based upon the philosophy...that after experience further study is most profitable."[9] It was, then, a graduate degree geared exclusively for teachers in service; it provided the methodology, the "carry back" practicality that teachers would presumably need to improve in their craft and advance their careers. This degree would also move teachers one bracket up in the pay scale.[10] Dougherty was unequivocal when distinguishing his graduate work--a "new movement"--from that offered at universities, which he seemed to disparage as out-dated and impractical. "Our Master of Arts degree is not the old research degree, but is one that has a 'carry-back' to the classroom."[11] Teacher education should not simply be an adjunct of the liberal arts institution, Dougherty maintained, rather it

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[7]Dougherty to Ramsey, 21 July 1945, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[8]The Appalachian, 6 March 1942. Dougherty classified the graduate work similarly by referring to it as the "Department of Master Certificates," in a letter to the Budget Bureau officer. Dougherty to Deyton, 1 July 1942, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[9]"The Appalachian State Teachers college begins another forward movement," [*c.*1948], Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[10]Dougherty to C.B. Eller, North Wilkesboro, 17 April 1948, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[11]Dougherty to D.B. Bryan, Wake Forest College, 18 January 1950, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

should constitute a discrete entity--one that would "occupy the first position in the constellation." Furthermore, "a teachers college ought to be better and stronger than a college of liberal arts."[12] In 1951, criticism from prominent figures at UNC of the quality of the graduate work offered at the teachers colleges greatly concerned Dougherty and the administrators of the other teachers colleges. They worked to confront this movement by attempting to present a unified voice. In one of a flurry of letters, Dougherty reasserted the philosophy for his school: "I think that we should set up very quickly and distribute the philosophy by word of mouth and by written documents that the mission of the teachers college is to improve the teaching [his emphasis] in the state and not to scrape up what the ancient Greeks and Romans did two thousand years B.C."[13]

The question is the extent to which the cooperative graduate arrangement fulfilled the goals of efficient and quality service for teachers. Dougherty believed that the program enhanced Appalachian's service to teachers because the degree-earning graduate work provided an avenue to avoid the "dead-end street" that the summer school had been.[14] Not having carried the finality of a degree, all of the graduate work that Appalachian had previously offered--most often in the form of workshops

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[12]Dougherty to J.D. Messick, President, East Carolina Teachers College, 31 October 1950, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[13]Dougherty's history may have been a little off (or he was exaggerating to make a point about irrelevance), but his sentiment is clear: the teachers college had no business with classical liberal education. Dougherty to President Paul Reid, Western Carolina Teachers College, 23 August 1951, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[14]"The Appalachian State Teachers college begins another forward movement," [*c.*1948], Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

led by visiting faculty--had to be repeated every few years to maintain certification and they did not increase a teacher's salary. Yet, with this being the case, the non-degree workshops continued to flourish and in fact attracted more students to the school from farther abroad than the for-credit courses taught by UNC faculty.

The next issue of The Appalachian reported that once again visiting faculty from the "nation's most progressive school systems" would be in Boone for the summer. The paper did not mention how this program would relate to the UNC program.[15] Was the character of this dual system of graduate education--one for credit toward a UNC graduate degree and the other for certificate renewal--clear to students? Could this new venture succeed? Was Dougherty's initial hesitance well-founded? There was after all a war with which to contend, and by the summer of 1942, America, now deeply involved, needed a work force to run its war-induced industry. In a time of rationing and of the focused application of energy on defense, to inaugurate a new graduate program in the field of pedagogy seems almost incongruous.[16] Could Appalachian (or Western, for that matter) survive financially? After all the effort, would the program be mutually beneficial for UNC and for the

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[15]The Appalachian, 13 March 1942.

[16]Something had to be done about the teacher shortage, though. In February 1942, the National Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education reported that an eleven percent decrease in enrollment at teachers colleges nationally was aggravating a serious shortage of qualified teachers. Industry jobs were enjoying a thirty percent salary increase while teaching positions did not even keep pace with inflation. The NCDDE suggested raising teacher salaries to combat the migration out of the teaching profession. Such numbers signaled trouble for teachers colleges. Why would teachers spend the time and money to increase their training when their salaries scarcely reflected their increased skill? The Appalachian, 6 February 1942.

teachers colleges? How would relations between UNC and the teachers colleges develop?

With the opening of the first session of the summer school on 9 June 1942, a total of 444 students had enrolled. Of this number, 37 were participating in the experimental graduate program. During the second session, 27 out of 351 were enrolled in the graduate program. On campus in Boone to teach the graduate courses were two faculty members from the Department of Education at UNC.[17] To be accepted into the graduate program "without examination" a person needed only to submit credentials to certify that he or she had been granted a degree from any "standard" college or university. A student could enroll only in those education courses authorized by the UNC graduate administration. For further information on degree requirements, the student was instructed to consult the UNC graduate catalog.[18]

Each summer from 1942 to 1947, UNC sent two or three faculty members to teach graduate courses in Boone. Initially, the Graduate Board stipulated that only UNC faculty would be approved to teach graduate courses at Cullowhee or Boone. However, by the second summer, 1943, two non-UNC faculty--one of whom was on

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[17]Bulletin: Appalachian State Teachers College, June Quarter 1942; The Appalachian, 18 September 1942. Drs. MacDonald and McCoskey from UNC taught in Boone the first summer session; Drs. MacDonald and Hagood taught during the second session. Pierson to Graham, 10 August 1942, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[18]Bulletin, March Quarter 1943 (Summer School Issue), 49.

Appalachian's regular faculty--were approved to teach graduate courses, for credit, in Boone.[19]

Beginning in 1943, Appalachian's summer school issues of the Bulletin somewhat fancifully included a special section titled "The Graduate School," under which the names of those on "The Graduate Council"--D.J. Whitener, H.R. Eggers, and Chapell Wilson--and "The Graduate Faculty" were listed.[20] Courses taught under the arrangement with UNC were listed only in the "Graduate School" section of the Bulletin and were given distinctive numbers. For example, the courses, "Mental Hygiene in Teaching" or "Statistical Methods in Education" were numbered s176 and s103a, respectively.[21] All the UNC courses were given the "s" prefix, but none of these courses was numbered higher than the two hundred level. On the other hand, the courses taught by other visiting faculty, at least those designed for teachers with degrees, were numbered five hundred and higher. "The Educative Process in the Service of Democracy," taught by William Kilpatrick was designated Education 572.[22] Beginning in 1944, the Bulletin noted that the graduate courses offered under the aegis of UNC were open to any college graduate, even if he or she did not desire graduate credit, and to college seniors (limited to courses with numbers lower than

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[19]W.I. Painter, from the University of Indiana, and Harry B. Heflin, one of Appalachian's own, were approved to teach graduate courses for UNC in Boone the summer of 1943. Bulletin, Summer School Issue, 1943, 49.

[20]Bulletin, Summer School Issues, 1943-1947.

[21]Bulletin, Summer School Issue, 1943, 51.

[22]Ibid., 1944, 18.

200), with approval of the graduate council.[23] With this, the ever-present and perennially questionable senior-graduate level course had made its appearance.[24]

In the last summer of the cooperative arrangement, six graduate faculty--three from UNC, two from Appalachian, and one other visiting faculty member--taught in Boone during both summer sessions of 1947. During the first summer session, one W.H. Plemmons--later to be Appalachian's president--taught courses in educational administration. Also during this summer, the first woman graduate faculty member, Frances Horwich (from Roosevelt College in Chicago), taught courses in language arts and educational psychology.[25]

Enrollments for the summer graduate program increased slowly throughout the war years. Most often, the registrar's office did not distinguish between those enrolled for graduate credit (toward earning a master's degree in education) and those enrolled for certificate renewal. For the summer of 1942, it is possible to confirm that those already possessing degrees who were enrolled in the credit-earning graduate program comprised a significant minority. The registrar's office reported that of those enrolled at Appalachian for the summer, 187 held a bachelor's degree and 29 already held master's degrees. The reported enrollment for the graduate work was 51. This means

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[23]Ibid., 20.

[24]Ralph N. Tirey and Walter P. Morgan, "Report of the Inspection of the Graduate Program of The Appalachian State Teachers College," 3 and 4 November 1948, Graduate School, Williams Papers, A.C., 11. From the 1966 Southern Association's Standard Ten (Graduate Work): "A distinction between undergraduate and graduate work should be observed. [Graduate work] necessarily involves research, [which is] a discriminating activity of well-informed minds."

[25]Bulletin, Summer School Issue, 1947, 23-27.

that out of 216 individuals holding degrees less than 25 percent were enrolled for courses bearing credit toward a graduate degree.[26] For the following several years, extant records do not provide a breakdown between graduate work done for credit and that which was done for certificate renewal. It is unlikely that for the second summer of the cooperative program in 1943 an increase of enrollment could have been recorded. Enrollments during the regular terms had been decreasing steadily, and 1943-1944 established the low ebb, when only 374 enrolled for the regular term. This was down from the 970 recorded for 1939-1940.[27]

Not surprisingly, with the end of the war, enrollments began to rebound in all sessions by the summer of 1945. A total of 828 students (764 women, 64 men) registered for the summer quarter in 1945. Among them, representing 168 different institutions, were 362 with bachelor's degrees and 46 with master's degrees. There is no record of how many of this number were enrolled for graduate credit.[28] Finally, for the first summer session of 1946, the registrar's records classify those enrolled. Of 329 individuals who possessed degrees (281 with bachelor's, 48 with master's degrees), only 89 were listed as being in "the Graduate School."[29] During the last summer of

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[26][Enrollment figures], 1942, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[27]Office of the Registrar, H.R. Eggers, 8 October 1946, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[28][Enrollment figures], 1945, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[29]Ibid., 1946.

the cooperative arrangement with UNC, in 1947, the total summer enrollment was 1035--again not broken down.[30]

Although figures are far from consistently thorough, it is clear that, though the graduate courses offered under the aegis of UNC did experience some growth in terms of enrollment, they always constituted a much less significant part of the summer school from 1942 to 1947 than did other courses. The non-credit courses--designed for those with degrees and numbered 500 and above--attracted far more students. In 1942, the graduate program's enrollment of fifty-one for both summer sessions was not impressive.[31] Still, the response at both teachers colleges had been favorable enough to warrant continuing the program for another year.[32]

The cooperative graduate program had to be re-authorized each year, with faculty and courses selected and approved by Dean Pierson and his graduate council. Positive reports from the first summer notwithstanding, the prospect of a second summer under the same cooperative agreement appeared tenuous in the spring of 1943. As late as the end of February 1943, Dougherty did not know whether graduate courses had been approved for that summer by the UNC administration.[33] Indeed, the

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[30]Ibid., 1947.

[31]Cratis Williams, "A History of the Office of Graduate Studies," 1963, TMs [photocopy], Office of the Chancellor, ASU. Although another source lists 37 and 27 as enrollments for the two terms, most likely there would have been those who attended both terms, which explains the different enrollment figure that Williams had for the 1942 summer quarter. Pierson to Graham, 10 August 1942, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[32]Pierson to Graham, 10 August 1942, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[33]Dougherty to Hunter, 24 February 1943, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

summer school issue of the Bulletin that year had to go to press before any instructors were chosen by UNC.[34] At Western, the probability that graduate work would have to be abandoned was particularly high. Telegrams in May and June 1943 from W. Carson Ryan, the head of the department of education at UNC, to President Hunter seemed to signal the end. Ryan declared that although administrators at UNC still wanted to continue the program, they were having difficulty "procuring staff especially on a contingency basis."[35] In a second communication, only weeks before the summer school was to open in Cullowhee, Carson informed Hunter that UNC would be "unable to carry on graduate program at Cullowhee this summer."[36] The effect of severe budgetary problems at Western coupled with the war should not be underestimated.[37] However, according to Western's Dean, William Bird, more was at work to undermine Western's effort to offer graduate work than the strains of the war.

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[34]Bulletin, Summer School Issue, 1943, 49.

[35]W. Carson Ryan, Chapel Hill, to Hunter [telegram], 13 May 1943, Hunter Papers.

[36]Ryan to Hunter [telegram], 3 June 1943, Hunter Papers.

[37]Correspondence between President Hunter and R.G. Deyton, the assistant director of the state budget bureau indicate a tenuous financial situation for Western in 1942 and 1943. Deyton forbade Hunter to purchase the requisite books for the graduate program saying, "it is entirely out of the question" to spend money for a program that is "entirely out of place" and "not authorized by the Legislature." Furthermore, Deyton eventually intervened to cover Western's $12,544.00 deficit out of a state contingency fund. Being so indebted to the budget bureau was not a favorable position, for often decisions could only be made on the basis of finances and nothing else. Deyton to Hunter, 9 June 1942, 23 June 1942, 29 June 1942, 23 July 1942, Hunter Papers; Pierson to Graham, 10 August 1942, Graduate School, UNC Archives; Hunter to Dougherty, 5 April 1944, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives; M.C. Huntley, Atlanta, to Hunter, 15 September 1942, Hunter Papers.

Intra- and inter-institutional politics were also a factor. The potentially embarrassing situation--canceling a program that students were already planning to attend--was averted only by an eleventh-hour conference in Chapel Hill between officials of the two schools. Bird believed that much of the difficulty lay with the "University" whose "acceptance of the plan, from the first, had been far from wholehearted" and whose administrators could not agree "over the issue of off-campus centers."[38] Relations between UNC and the teachers colleges were often rocky during the period that the cooperative graduate program was in place.[39]

Various interests and prejudices were exposed in the summer of 1944 when two courses offered through UNC in Cullowhee were consolidated into one, renamed, and announced as such by Western in its Bulletin. The Graduate Board concluded that this course had not been authorized, and the course was disallowed. The ensuing exchange of opinions and final settlement revealed divisions among members of the Graduate Board and the Department of Education at UNC and between the University

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[38]William Ernest Bird, The History of Western Carolina College: The Progress of an Idea (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 248.

[39]Fewer, less accurate, available sources for Appalachian's history for this period have necessitated an examination of Western's archives. Though the stories of the two graduate schools are not identical, at first they were parallel, and much can be established by interpolating between what is known from UNC Archives, Western's Special Collections, and ASU Archives to get some sense of Appalachian's foray into the graduate field with UNC. Dougherty was unfortunately not always conscientious in keeping documents related to school administration. President Hunter was. He kept every letter incoming and outgoing from his office. His papers have also benefited from careful archival preservation over the years. The fire that destroyed the administration building at Appalachian in 1966 doubtless destroyed some documents that may well have been germane to this project.

and the teachers colleges. Concern over the quality of graduate work done at the teachers college, indeed, even concern over the viability of the master's degree itself, compelled Pierson and the Graduate Board to reconsider the guidelines under which the extramural graduate work was to function. Inevitably, this posture threatened the sense of self-determination of those in the field of education, especially the head of the department of education at UNC, W. Carson Ryan.[40] Underlying this intra-institutional conflict was the perennial doubt, on the part of those at UNC and other influential universities, that graduate work of high quality was really possible at teachers colleges.[41] The University of North Carolina was the central institution of the State; the teachers colleges were subsidiary institutions and, in Pierson's mind at least, should remain so.

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[40]Conflicts over philosophies and methodologies of education and administration were apparent at UNC throughout the 1940s. Articles written from different perspectives had fairly clarified the lines of conflict. For instance, one of the concerns in the Cullowhee situation was that the course was designed as a "workshop course." The workshop course method had strong proponents and strong critics at UNC. "There is the sharpest divergence of opinion about the propriety and graduate validity of this type of work [the summer workshop]." Pierson, Graduate Work in the South, 131-34. W. Carson Ryan, of the Department of Education at UNC, expressed his support of the value of the graduate workshop in his article, "What the 'Workshop' Means to School Administrators and 'In-Service' Education of Their Teachers," School Management 12 (April 1943): 194. Interestingly, a critic of the workshop method, Edgar W. Knight, also at UNC, had published his view in the same journal one year earlier in "Workshops in the Education of Teachers," School Management 11 (April 1942): 218. Dean Pierson would turn to Knight in 1944 as an ally in the battle over control of the graduate programs done in Boone and Cullowhee. Edgar W. Knight to Pierson, 20 December 1944, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[41]See Edgar W. Knight, Fifty Years of American Education: A Historical Review and Critical Appraisal (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1952), 189, 190.

Pierson had admitted to Graham that administering the growing responsibilities of a consolidated graduate school was becoming "progressively more exacting."[42] The fact that the various parties saw the situation in Cullowhee in 1944 with such divergent views suggested *inexact* policies. At the outset, in 1941, the administrative board of the Graduate School at UNC outlined only briefly the regulations under which the cooperative program should operate. The controversy over graduate work with Western and the Department of Education in 1944--in which, according to Dean Bird of Western, Pierson even wrote directly to students "advising them that no credit...would be allowed toward the advanced degree at the University"--demonstrated that explicit regulations were needed for the program.[43] To stem any such confusion in the future, Pierson convened the Graduate Board to issue a "clear and full statement of the basis of administrative control of graduate work offered at Appalachian State Teachers College and Western Carolina Teachers College [to] be sent to the authorities thereof."[44]

Essentially, this statement reaffirmed in specific terms what had been expressed in general terms at the outset of the program in 1942: that the administrative control for the program was "vested in the Administrative Board of the Graduate School, the agent of which is the Dean of the Graduate School." Then speaking directly to the

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[42]Pierson to Graham, 3 October 1941, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[43]Bird, The History of Western Carolina College, 248.

[44]"The Administration of Graduate Work Offered by the University of North Carolina under Agreement with the State Teachers Colleges Located at Boone and Cullowhee," 1 January 1945, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

problem that arose in Cullowhee, the statement continued, "No graduate program or course shall be publicly announced or offered by either of these institutions as a part of this cooperative plan until such program or course has been regularly and officially approved by the Administrative Board and Dean; and each such program or course shall annually be ratified by that Board and Dean before it can be announced or offered again."[45] It may have been this tone of micro-management that upset some in the Department of Education, which was wholly responsible for the faculty and course work in this cooperative arrangement. But, on the other side, such explicit directions seemed to be necessary for it was, according to one University official, "evident that we and they do not speak or understand the same language on this subject....If our minds and theirs are to meet on this important undertaking and if all parties are to be spared in the future long and hideously tedious conferences and conversations, the regulations must be specific."[46] It is not altogether clear whether the "they" in this statement referred only to the teachers colleges or if it included also those in the Department of Education at UNC.[47]

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[45]"The Administration of Graduate Work...at Boone and Cullowhee," 1 January 1945, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[46]Edgar W. Knight, Regional Director, Army and Navy College Training Program, Chapel Hill, to Pierson, 20 December 1944, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[47]From other evidence of intra-institutional scraps between the Department of Education and the Graduate Board, it is very likely that Edgar Knight was lumping all those in the field of education--at UNC and the teachers colleges--together in the pronoun "they." Another clue is that W. Carson Ryan aligned himself with those at the teachers colleges in letters, using the phrase, "we in Education" when speaking to Dean Bird at Western. Ryan to Bird, 15 July 1944, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

Pierson again personally inspected the two campuses in July 1944. Dougherty made little of the visit except to note that "the graduate committee at the University would like to have full control over the graduate work that is done away from the University."[48] Not all were as stoical as Dougherty about the centralization of authority in the UNC Graduate School. W. Carson Ryan, head of the department of education at Chapel Hill, resented Pierson's monopoly on decisions regarding graduate work and eventually confided in President Graham. "We may eventually have to have some help in this Cullowhee situation. Pierson, as you doubtless saw in the Graduate Board meeting, is making it very difficult. We have managed to weather the storm thus far, but he's been getting to the point lately where he's apparently trying to take from us [those in the education field] what I regard as our fundamental functions in this program. This, together with his gross ignorance of the whole education business, is just too much."[49]

Extant sources about Appalachian's graduate school during these years suggest that circumstances were, for the most part, better than those at Cullowhee. The financial crisis at Western was the primary reason that it was not accredited by the Southern Association in 1942, the year Appalachian was approved.[50] Even though Western's graduate work was very nearly canceled in 1943, Appalachian never

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[48]Dougherty to Hunter, 27 July 1944, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[49]W. Carson Ryan wrote this note to Graham on a copy of a letter sent to Dean Bird at Western. Ryan to W.E. Bird (with note hand-written to Frank P. Graham), 15 July 1944, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[50]"We failed to get on. Boone succeeded." W.E. Bird, Memphis, to Hunter, [telegram], 4 December 1942. Dougherty to Hunter, 23 December 1942.

received any word that its graduate work was in jeopardy. In early June 1943, while President Hunter and Dean Bird scrambled to have graduate work approved for Western, Dougherty was making final housing arrangements for the UNC faculty who were to teach graduate courses in Boone.[51] Still, there are hints that the Graduate Board may have been difficult to work with.

Attempting to make arrangements for the summer school in 1945, Chapell Wilson had been down to Chapel Hill three times before mid-February "trying [without success] to get an understanding with the University." Proofs for the summer school bulletin had to be held up until the Graduate Board approved the graduate courses. "If we had this matter under our control, we could decide the matter very fast but, as you know, we have to work along with the University."[52] Ralph Abernethy and Robert Long, two former graduate students who took graduate work under the UNC agreement, also recall some difficulty working with UNC. Both noted what seemed to have been a lack of commitment to Appalachian on the part of UNC professors. Abernethy remembered thinking that some visiting professors treated the time in the mountains as a vacation. "Chapel Hill did not always send winners...some good, some sorry," he remarked. In a particularly astute observation, Abernethy believed that the cooperative program with Chapel Hill was a "necessary evil" for the development of a graduate school at Appalachian. Had Appalachian tried to develop

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[51]Dougherty to Ryan, 4 June 1943, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[52]Dougherty to Ambrose Suhrie, Madison College, Tenn., 14 February 1945, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

its own graduate school in 1942, the UNC administration would have "killed it."[53] Although it is impossible to know whether UNC could have succeeded in "killing" a graduate program at Appalachian, there is certainly evidence to suggest that an independent graduate school would have been discouraged by administrators of UNC.

One of the reasons for accepting the proposal for UNC graduate work at the teachers colleges in 1941 was Pierson's desire to stem the development of graduate schools at the teachers colleges. Already, East Carolina Teachers College had, on a limited basis, proceeded without the University's assistance, or control. It granted its first master's degree in education in 1933.[54] It was important to Pierson that graduate work be the domain solely of the University and that the teachers colleges concentrate on undergraduate work. It was too expensive to establish high quality graduate schools at all state-supported institutions.[55] President Graham was also committed to non-duplication of programs and high quality in the state institutions.[56] The remaining teachers colleges in the State had to be prevented from establishing their own graduate

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[53]Robert P. Long, Berlin, Conn., to Keith F. Lynip, Boone, 21 February 1995, in the possession of the author; Ralph Abernethy, Drexel, N.C., to Lynip, 13 February 1995, in the possession of the author; Abernethy, phone interview by author, 14 February 1995, transcript, in the possession of author.

[54]Pierson, Graduate Education in the South, 242.

[55]"The Graduate School: Report of the Dean, 1933-1934," [*c.*August 1934], Graduate School, UNC Archives; "Project of Investigation," [*c.*1940], Graduate School, UNC Archives; Pierson to Graham, 3 October 1941, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[56]Graham to Pierson, 2 January 1942, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

schools. The centralized Michigan model was one method of prevention: offer University graduate work in extension at the teachers colleges.[57]

"When I was in Raleigh last," Dougherty wrote to the president of East Carolina Teachers College in 1950, "I ran up against the old idea that teachers colleges were second-rate institutions, that they didn't amount to much after all....There is more of that kind of talk than I knew about."[58] What was this apparent prejudice against teachers colleges? Appalachian, the "red-headed step-child,"[59] and teachers colleges in general were often viewed by many in the University of North Carolina and other members of the American Association of Universities as "feeble...normal school[s]."[60]

Two factors may have influenced this pejorative attitude: the movement of teachers colleges into the domain of graduate education and the fact that teachers colleges almost exclusively granted the master's degree. Many doubted the efficacy or even the validity of the master's degree as a graduate degree.[61]

The master's degree has been, and continues to be, a source of debate. Its history has been far from even. During the medieval period in Europe, the master's

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[57]Pierson to Graham, 6 September 1941, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

[58]Dougherty to Messick, 24 October 1950, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[59]Abernethy, interview by author, 14 February 1995, transcript, in the possession of the author.

[60]Knight, Fifty Years of American Education, 190.

[61]Pierson, Graduate Education in the South, 125, 126; Knight, Fifty Years of American Education:, 186, 189.

degree "enjoyed considerable status," although from the first it was associated with pedagogy.[62] At points in its "capricious and irregular history"--for instance, from the colonial period into the early part of the nineteenth century in America--the master's degree was variously awarded as an honorary degree or awarded automatically to anyone who resided at the college three years after receiving the bachelor's degree, was "not in jail," and paid a diploma fee.[63] The standards for the master's have "fluctuated wildly" in the course of its history. Much of this fluctuation was due to its broad usage for a variety of purposes. It became a loosely-defined degree, a "jack of all trades," and proliferated in such diversity that accrediting agencies during the first half of the twentieth century found it difficult to assess accepted standards for the degree and "graduate councils and deans [were caused] innumerable headaches."[64]

As the possession of the master's degree increasingly resulted in a better salary and recognition and as state departments of education began to require the advanced degree of teachers, "the boom and boon for the teacher-education institutions were

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[62]Clifton F. Conrad, Jennifer Grant Haworth, and Susan Bolyard Millar, A Silent Success: Master's Education in the United States (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 3.

[63]Knight, Fifty Years of American Education, 186; Frederick Rudolph, The American College and University: A History (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), 336; Conrad, Haworth, and Millar, A Silent Success, 4; John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, Higher Education in Transition: An American History, 1636-1956 (New York: Harper & Row, 1958), 21, 22.

[64]Conrad, Haworth, and Millar, Silent Success, 23, 24; Everett Walters, editor, Graduate Education Today (Washington: American Council on Education, 1965), 86-88; Thomas A. Langford, ed., Graduate Education in the South: A History of the Conference of Deans of Southern Graduate School and of the Conference of Southern Graduate Schools, 1925-1991 (Lubbock, Tex.: PrinTech, for the Conference of Southern Graduate Schools, 1991) 4, 5.

on."[65] It was this burgeoning output of master's degrees of a myriad of types, standards, and names from teacher institutions, developing in the 1930s, that concerned accrediting agencies and other associations in higher education. Added to this was the fact that almost all the graduate work offered at teachers colleges was conducted during compressed summer sessions.[66] Accrediting agencies were, by and large, led by members of larger universities, such as UNC. Dean Pierson was heavily involved with efforts to establish standards for the master's degree. At the annual conference of the Association of American Universities in 1930, Pierson presented a paper on the issues raised by graduate work offered during summer sessions. This topic had bearing on the graduate work done at teachers colleges.[67] Pierson was also among those of the Conference of Deans of Southern Graduate Schools (CDSGS) who were approached by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in early 1930s to examine the master's degree and prepare a set of minimum standards. Pierson's committee presented its findings at the 1934 fall conference of the CDSGS.[68] Six years later, Pierson presented a paper on administering the minimum standards for the

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[65]Knight, Fifty Years of American Education, 189; Pierson, Graduate Work in the South, 126, 127; Knight, Education in the United States, 339.

[66]Langford, Graduate Education in the South, 4, 5; Pierson, Graduate Work in the South, 125-131; W.W. Pierson, "Report of the Dean of the Graduate School, 1934-1935," [*c.*August 1935], Graduate School, UNC Archives, 5.

[67]Pierson, Graduate Work in the South, 130.

[68]"Report of the Dean of the Graduate School, 1934-1935," [*c.*August 1935], Graduate School, UNC Archives, 5.

master's degree at the 1940 annual conference of the CDSGS.[69] Clearly, Pierson was well aware of the problems implicit in graduate work at teachers colleges, especially that done only during the summer sessions. All this would have been in his mind as he attempted to administer the work done at Cullowhee and Boone.

Should the new program really be undertaken when the end result was the awarding of a degree of dubious distinction, made even more dubious by the fact that this so-called graduate work was done exclusively during the summer terms, some of which was at a teachers college? Regarding the teacher's degree, "so often attempted and pretended," Pierson asserted that it was no guarantee of the ability to teach. To him, it was clear that a reexamination of master's degree curricula was in order and further, that UNC's relationship to the teacher training institutions be spelled out. Pierson contended that "graduate schools are already in a sense teacher's colleges."[70] For Pierson, the maintenance of efficiency and quality in the North Carolina system lay in establishing firm controls centered in the Graduate School at the University. The fact that Appalachian's summer school enrollment increased dramatically, especially in the graduate division after UNC had withdrawn from the cooperative program, only made Appalachian's graduate work all the more suspect. The common perception among administrators at flagship universities was that teachers colleges enjoying the highest growth rates were those that offered master's degrees with the fewest

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[69]Pierson, Graduate Work in the South, 125, 126.

[70]W.W. Pierson, "The Present State of the Graduate School," TMs [photocopy], 20 November 1936, Graduate School, UNC Archives.

requirements.[71] For a teacher seeking to increase his or her salary, the temptation would be great to find a teachers college that would require little. Thus, the criticisms, whether fitting or not, leveled at the teachers colleges (including Appalachian) during the 1940s and 1950s, are not surprising.

The summer school received no state support. Regardless of the fact that the state institutions commonly conducted business twelve months a year, money was budgeted for only nine months. At Appalachian, maintaining a summer school with a larger enrollment than the regular term put a significant strain on the college's annual budget. The state budget officer reiterated its non-support again in the budget of June 1942, insisting that "the summer school is on a self-supporting basis and must be kept that way." Perhaps due to numerous entreaties from Dougherty, in early 1943, the state legislators authorized the development of an endowment fund for the summer school at Appalachian. This charter allowed the board of trustees "to receive gifts, donations, and bequests and set the same up as a permanent endowment fund to aid the summer school. The principal must be kept intact; only the income from this fund can be spent each year."[72] At once, Dougherty set about the task of raising money for this fund and warned of the "tremendous educational loss" the discontinuation of the summer school would cause. He declared that Appalachian "should be made the summer Mecca for teachers in service in the Southland....WHO WOULD NOT LIKE TO

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[71]Knight, Fifty Years of American Education, 189.

[72]B.B. Dougherty, [An appeal to support the endowment fund], 4 July 1943, TMs [photocopy], Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

TO TAKE SOME PART IN FORWARDING A MOVEMENT THAT WILL GO ON AND ON, HELPING ALL OF THOSE NOW LIVING AND THOSE YET UNBORN?"[73] By 1945, the endowment was worth $20,480.80 and was earning a meager $711.00 a year in interest.[74] By 1954, the endowment fund, thanks to Dougherty's ceaseless campaigning, was earning a respectable $6,034 a year. In 1955 it was worth a total of $154,208.79. The endowment principal was invested heavily in stocks, mostly in railroads, insurance, utilities, and real estate.[75]

No one gave more generously or worked harder to promote the endowment fund than Dougherty himself. By 1955, the year of his retirement, he had contributed a total of nearly $14,000 to the endowment.[76] Only a year after the endowment was authorized, he turned to the town of Boone for assistance, as he had in the school's infancy.[77] Dougherty proposed to the president of the Boone Chamber of Commerce, W.H. Wilcox, that Boone and Watauga County aim to raise $5000 for the endowment fund. "Get other clubs and other people in Boone and Watauga County interested. Explain the needs and the possibilities. Let every one have a chance to take part in this undertaking. A roster of the names of those that [*sic.*] contribute will be made.

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[73]Ibid.

[74]Endowment Fund for the Summer School, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[75]Ibid., 1954, 1955.

[76]This figure means that over the twelve years Dougherty gave an average of $1100 a year to the endowment. This is no small figure when one considers his salary of $7,380 in 1950. Ibid., 1955; [Salary figures], 1950, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[77]Lanier, Mountain Educator, 28.

The list will be kept permanently." Dougherty then proposed to match one fourth of any amount raised up to $1000, because "I consider myself a citizen of this town....Great things can be done. It will establish a South-wide summer school in North Carolina....Who would not like to take some part...in such a worthy undertaking?"[78]

In 1953, finding that Appalachian's enrollment growth significantly out-paced state support, Dougherty said that this lack of support could mean that Appalachian would have to "go out of the graduate school." Besides making entreaties to the members of the legislature--whose response was that Appalachian was the most efficient college and therefore did not need more funds--Dougherty also turned to his own faculty.[79] In a memo to the faculty in October 1953, Dougherty shared his vision for the school and value of the endowment fund. Appalachian was "indeed appreciative" of the State's support, but a "better job can be done if we had some money...." This additional money, he continued, could go toward funding scholarships, assistantships, in-service training workshops for teachers, "chautauquas, musical programs, and...lectures," and improving "in a larger way, the instructional service in the public school of North Carolina." The permanent endowment fund "appeals to us very strongly" and "I think we should begin at home" to promote this fund. Dougherty

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[78]Dougherty to W.H. Wilcox, Boone, 9 May 1944, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[79]Dougherty to D.S. Coltrane, Assistant Director of the Budget, Raleigh, 12 March 1954; Dougherty to W.F. Marshall, Senator, Raleigh, 17 February 1953, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

then proposed that every faculty member contribute one percent of his or her salary each year for five years. Again, Dougherty offered to match the total amount personally.[80]

Perhaps his single most valuable contribution to the endowment came in the form of the college bookstore. As Dougherty related it to Governor Broughton, the bookstore had actually been owned by B.B. Dougherty and his father D.B. Dougherty. They bought the lot, erected the building, and supplied the bookstore, all, it seems, without informing the Board of Trustees or the state budget bureau that it had been deeded to the school.[81] "The promoters [Doughertys] have not and do not now wish to make one cent out of this hazardous but successful adventure." Indeed, with a monopoly in Boone on required texts and books, the lot, building, and equipment were paid for in ten years, and by the summer of 1943, Dougherty estimated that $14,850 had been invested with a bank balance of an additional $11,000. The point was, Dougherty attested in a bulletin to the Governor, "the state has never spent one cent on this project and has never assumed any obligation," therefore, "we suggest" that the

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[80]Dougherty, "To the Faculty of Appalachian State Teachers College," TMs [photocopy], 21 October 1953, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[81]Here, Dougherty manipulated historical facts somewhat. His father did own a considerable amount of land in what is now Boone--150 acres, in fact--but he died in 1902, a year before Appalachian Training School was established. It is possible that B.B. Dougherty meant his brother, D.D. Dougherty. His brother died in 1929, so it is curious that Dougherty would use the "we" pronoun when speaking of the "promoters" of the bookstore in 1943. Lanier, Mountain Educator, 29, 105; B.B. Dougherty, Interview by Wade Brown, 29 November 1956, computer disk, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives; B.B. Dougherty, "A Story of the Appalachian Bookstore," TMs [photocopy], 14 July 1943, Governor Broughton Papers, State Archives.

bookstore and property be transferred to the trustees and that the profits be channeled into the new endowment fund. "If this movement is legal and approved by the governor, we will present it to the Board of Directors for immediate action....Where is there anyone to object?"[82] The Governor did not. Broughton believed that under the circumstances outlined in Dougherty's story, transferring excess funds from the bookstore into the endowment was "a proper disposition of this surplus...." Broughton had also discussed the matter with Assistant Director of the Budget, R.G. Deyton, and the state Attorney General, neither of whom had any objections.[83]

This unorthodox set-up whereby Dougherty, the president of a state institution, was an owner of the college bookstore had raised the attention of the auditor earlier. The 30 June 1942 audit revealed that some of the bookstore receipts--$3200--were being transferred into the Appalachian Loan Fund, instead of being deposited "to the credit of your institution with the State Treasurer as an allotment deposit each day." The state budget officer would need an explanation. In his inquiry, Deyton declared that "it is hard to understand how you have operated this bookstore on the basis this audit shows....and I would like to have full explanation of this."[84] It turns out these deposits were legal, but that no State official seems to have been aware of the

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[82]Dougherty, "Story of the Appalachian Bookstore," Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[83]Broughton to Dougherty, 5 November 1943, Governor Broughton Papers, State Archives.

[84]Deyton to Dougherty, 2 September 1942, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

personally owned bookstore seems a little irregular. Dougherty's accounting methods were often unusual and sometimes actually humorous.

That Dougherty would return unspent appropriations to the state treasury is generally known and cited as anecdotal evidence for Appalachian's relatively lower state support, even today. Dougherty did indeed allow portions of Appalachian's appropriations to revert back to the treasury on several occasions. In February 1949, concerned that Appalachian's new graduate program might not be recognized by the American Association of Colleges for Teachers Education due to sub-standard financial support, Dougherty presented a multifarious and typically memorable petition to the General Assembly. He began with the year 1790, the year, he claimed, that the western regions of the state were almost given over to the federal government. If the State line had not been pushed westward to include "Ashe, Watauga, Avery, Mitchell, and Yancey counties....the Appalachian College would have been in Tennessee and we would be going to Nashville for appropriations. North Carolina should forever be proud that we retained that beautiful mountain section of our state." Other selling points, he continued, were the fine climate and intellectually stimulating atmosphere of the area. But "a college like this cannot be run cheap [*sic.*]," he reminded the Assembly.

What concerned Dougherty--he called it a "grotesque picture"--was that the summer program, although attended by more students than the regular session, received from the State a fraction of the amount received for the regular term. This minimal financial support was especially consequential for the graduate school, which

then only existed in the summer quarter. "Of course I told them [the visitation committee from the AACTE] that I believed that this General Assembly would appropriate the $52,000 requested for the summer quarter," which, with the addition of tuition and fees, would meet the minimum financial requirements. "We still believe that you will do it. We shall be happy to send a telegram from your own Capitol City to Dr. Tyree [Tirey] of Terre Haute, Indiana, chairman of the accrediting committee, telling him that you have made the appropriation."[85] Dougherty had thus far utilized his usual arsenal of techniques--fine climate, benefit to the state, good teachers, outstanding reputation--but he had not yet employed his famous accounting methods.

"We should like to suggest to you how you may get this money." Here is the clever part: "The college will furnish it." What followed was a dazzling array of figures and logic. Appalachian's unexpended balance in June 1947 was $25,000. Of this, Dougherty noted, $15,500 was transferred to a physical plant maintenance fund; the remaining $9,417 reverted to the state treasury. Again in 1948, Appalachian had a whopping $70,400 unexpended from the appropriation; $48,300 went into the permanent improvement account and $22,000 reverted to the state treasury. Then he predicted that, for 1949, $60,000 would revert to the state treasury. So, adding it all up, Dougherty figured there ought to be a spare $155,200[86] that could now be

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[85]B.B. Dougherty, "Brief on Request for Additional Funds for the Summer School to Improve Teaching in North Carolina," February 1949, TMs [photocopy], Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[86]To get this figure, he added the amounts that were held for permanent improvements, the amounts that reverted to the state treasury in 1947 and 1948, and the amount he estimated would revert to the state treasury in 1949.

reappropriated to Appalachian for its summer quarter. Even if the recommended appropriation were made, Dougherty contended, the treasury would still have a balance of over twenty-seven thousand, which had once been appropriated for Appalachian. "We never spend money unless we do need it," Dougherty continued, anticipating the obvious conclusion anyone would draw.[87] Often reveling in the fact that Appalachian was the most efficient in the State, Dougherty may also have been a little short-sighted when he allowed funds to revert to the treasury. To continually cajole the legislature for more funds and then turn around and prove that an appropriation was larger than needed by letting money revert to the treasury seems a little absurd. The obvious areas where the excess funds should have been used were the library--noted as particularly weak for a graduate school since the beginning[88]--and faculty salaries,[89] which were lower than minimum standards.

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[87]B.B. Dougherty, "Brief on Request for Additional Funds for the Summer School to Improve Teaching in North Carolina," TMs [photocopy], Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[88]Pierson to Graham, 10 August 1942, Graduate School, UNC Archives; W.H. Plemmons, in a speech at the opening of the addition to Belk Library in October 1980, recalled that in 1947 when he taught graduate courses at Appalachian for UNC, the library then was "not of high quality and standard." Some visiting faculty brought portions of their personal and professional library to supplement Appalachian's library. Plemmons, Speech at the opening of Belk Library addition, 24 October 1980, Library, Cratis Williams Papers, A.C.; Nancy Hoyle, Field Representative for the Library Committee of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Atlanta, to Dougherty, 31 July 1946, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[89]Ralph N. Tirey and Walter P. Morgan, "A Report of the Inspection of the Graduate Program of The Appalachian State Teachers College at Boone, North Carolina," [The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education], 3 and 4 November 1948, Graduate School, Williams Papers, A.C., 17; Williams, Interview, n.d. [1970s], transcript, ASU Archives, 12; Herbert Wey, Interview, n.d. [1970s], transcript, ASU Archives, 2.

The situation with the bookstore and his unorthodox ideas about funding for a school notwithstanding, Dougherty's claim that he never intended to make money from the school or ingratiate himself personally seems to have been true. His identification with the school was so complete that to say he was a bachelor, save for being married to the school, would not be off-target. What he perceived to be the school's best interest was his sole interest. Perhaps this is the inevitable sentiment of a founder of an institution, who, like a parent with a child, would never think of using the creation for self advantage. Dougherty's long tenure also marked him as a man whose identity was with the school, his creation.

Although some of Dougherty's ideas seem simplistic, he was in fact more complex than first appears. That is, what he wrote or said was not necessarily what he was thinking. He was a political man, and he attempted to accommodate that person to whom he wrote or spoke. To one person, he said one thing, to another, something else.[90] This propensity manifested itself in the spring of 1948, the year that Appalachian severed its ties to UNC for the graduate school and embarked independently on the venture. Expressions of intent did not parallel reality during the course of that spring.

In the 20 February 1948 issue of The Appalachian, one of the headlines declared: "ASTC Inaugurates Graduate Work: MA Degree to be Offered in Summer

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[90]The ease with which he could change tones depending on the person addressed is a little disarming, if not annoying. It also makes using his writings to verify historical facts--dates, people, places--difficult. He spoke and wrote with a greater interest in effect than in historical veracity.

School Curriculum." "According to an announcement from the office of President B.B. Dougherty," the degree would be awarded by Appalachian and the courses offered during the summer quarter.[91] This statement confirmed Dougherty's intentions for the school, which is to say, Appalachian would break off the arrangement with UNC beginning with the summer session of 1948. Remarkably, UNC officials had not been informed of this design, and, furthermore, Dougherty continued to speak as though the graduate program with UNC for 1948 would be continued as planned. "As we stated [at a meeting in Chapel Hill in early February], the Appalachian has been pleased and delighted to have the cooperation of the University in the development of one quarter of graduate work on this campus. We wish to continue this present arrangement. We shall be glad for you to send us the names of the teachers that you will send here this summer."[92] The first that administrators at Chapel Hill knew of Appalachian's plans was, in fact, through the announcement in The Appalachian on the twentieth. W. Carson Ryan wrote a "personal, unofficial letter" to Chapell Wilson on the twenty-third about the current situation. "President Dougherty said...that Appalachian was concerned with an improvement program for master teachers and not a program leading to a graduate degree. I am wondering, therefore whether the recent statement in your student paper is authentic?...If an announcement has been made from the

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[91]The Appalachian, 20 February 1948.

[92]Dougherty to A.K. King, Chapel Hill, 9 February 1948, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

President's office, I should like very much to have a copy."[93] Ryan's consternation could be expected, but Dougherty stuck to his line.

When the graduate board at UNC decided in early March 1948 to discontinue the program in Boone, Dougherty expressed dismay to UNC officials on more than one occasion. To A.K. King, the assistant Dean of the Graduate School at UNC, Dougherty wrote, "I am awfully sorry that your committee thought [it] wise to discontinue the graduate work of the University at the Appalachian. I am sure that it is not in accordance with my wish....I have felt for some time that the teacher-students that come here in the summer time should be allowed to do something more than just renew their certificates."[94] This almost directly contradicts what Dougherty reportedly had pronounced only a month earlier at a meeting in Chapel Hill.[95] On the same day, he also wrote to Ryan and said essentially the same thing.

Why the masquerade? That question probably never will be answered satisfactorily. Dougherty had interesting ideas, and he sometimes expressed them cryptically. The same was true of the way he communicated the intentions he had for his college: depending on whom he addressed, Dougherty did or did not have plans for instituting a graduate school for Appalachian. As early as October 1947, Dougherty explicitly expressed his interest in offering a graduate degree. In a letter to the State

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[93]W. Carson Ryan to Chapell Wilson, 23 February 1948, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives. It is interesting that Ryan knew of the article in the student newspaper. It is possible that someone in Boone, who saw the article, called Ryan to let him know about the article.

[94]Dougherty to King, 15 March 1948, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[95]Ryan to Wilson, 23 February 1948, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

Superintendent of Public Instruction, Clyde Erwin, he claimed that "there is a great demand, and great pressure, on us to do the full three quarters of graduate work leading to and granting a Masters degree here." Exaggerating the figures somewhat, Dougherty pointed to increasing numbers of students enrolled in the "graduate division" (that is, those taking courses for credit toward the master's degree).[96] If Appalachian offered the graduate degree, he contended, it would "save the students the necessity of changing institutions in order to earn a Masters degree," and he identified, once again, the opportunity for students "to do their work where the climate is more conducive to study during the hot summers." Dougherty believed that to fully carry out Appalachian's responsibility to prepare teachers for North Carolina's schools, the time had now come to "expand its graduate program...and to grant the Masters degree." Somewhat optimistically, he insisted that the college was prepared to offer graduate work. An "excellent faculty"--only fourteen of whom held the doctorate--a "splendid library with approximately 40,000 volumes," "splendid laboratories," and "adequate" finances verified, at least in Dougherty's mind, that Appalachian was ready to offer graduate work but "only during the summer sessions" and only in the field of education. "In view of the above facts, we are respectfully asking the approval of the

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[96]For instance, Dougherty claimed that 84 students were enrolled in the graduate program in 1942. At best, there were 64 enrolled and this probably involves counting some individuals who attended both sessions twice. The most likely figure for the net enrollment for both summer sessions in 1942 is 51, as Cratis Williams reported in his "History of the Office of Graduate Studies" in 1963. Dougherty also maintained that those enrolled in graduate courses for credit comprised forty percent of those enrolled in the summer school who possessed degrees. In reality, those enrolled in for-credit graduate work never comprised more than thirty percent of degree-holders enrolled, usually less. [Enrollment figures], Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

State Department of Education for Appalachian to do graduate work leading to the Masters degree and to grant said degree. The graduate program to be inaugurated at the opening of the 1948 summer session....I trust that the approval can be made as early as possible...."[97]

Superintendent Erwin responded in early November and pledged his support to Dougherty's venture. He believed that teachers in North Carolina would shortly be required to earn a graduate degree. This being the case, teacher training institutions should give "attention to this factor" and should begin a movement toward offering graduate work. "I shall be glad to help in the development of the graduate program at Boone," Erwin affirmed, and he advised a plan to begin offering the work only during the summer quarter with a notion to expand into the regular term later.[98]

Despite what Dougherty implied or explicitly claimed in February and March of 1948, it seems he had resolved as early as October 1947 that Appalachian would break off the relationship with UNC concerning the graduate work. Here, again, Dougherty played some canny politics. By concealing his intentions from UNC, he could fall back on the UNC cooperative program in case the Superintendent did not approve his plan for a full graduate program at Appalachian. UNC likely would have continued the program in Boone in 1948 had not Dougherty already made plans for his own graduate work. UNC did continue to work with Western, under the same

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[97]Dougherty to Clyde Erwin, Raleigh, 15 October 1947, State Superintendent of Public Instruction Papers (Clyde Erwin), North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh (hereafter, SPI Papers).

[98]Erwin to Dougherty, 7 November 1947, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

arrangements, for another three years.[99] Dougherty's subterfuge probably did not make a favorable impression among the UNC graduate board members, either. Irregular relations between the teachers colleges and UNC would emerge again in the 1950s.

Appalachian's foray into the graduate field, in any recognized fashion, began with a cooperative program with UNC. This venture, although not overwhelmingly successful, facilitated the development of Appalachian's own graduate school. It appears unlikely that Dougherty viewed the program with UNC as the necessary step to a graduate school of his own.[100] It is further unlikely, given the circumstances of Appalachian's late entrance into the venture in 1942, that Dougherty initially *wanted* a graduate school at his college. The early evidence suggests otherwise.[101] Dougherty's

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[99]The cooperative graduate program between Western and UNC continued through the summer of 1950. In 1951, Western launched its own graduate program. Bird, History of Western Carolina College, 249.

[100]In Ruby Lanier's biography of Dougherty, she cites an interview with Herman Eggers that could be interpreted to suggest that as early as 1942 Dougherty already had plans for a graduate school of his own. However, with the strength of evidence to the contrary, the fact that the quotation itself is ambiguous (and that Dougherty often did not say what he meant), and that it is solely on the basis of someone's memory of a meeting twenty-nine years previous tends to undermine an interpretation that asserts that Dougherty had plans for a graduate school long before he explicitly requested approval for one late in 1947. Lanier, Mountain Educator, 130, 247.

[101]Even in 1951, Dougherty wrote: "We are planning to make the Appalachian the best undergraduate college in the Southland." (emphasis his) What is interesting about this statement is that it came in a time of particularly vocal criticism of the quality of graduate work done at the teachers colleges. Dougherty seemed to downplay Appalachian's entrance into graduate work by stressing the primacy of the undergraduate division. Dougherty to President Paul Reid, Western Carolina Teachers College, 26 February 1951, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

At the Chautauqua conference for teachers college presidents in the June 1946, Dougherty was sufficiently unresolved about the value of the master's degree for

first and, it seems, only objective for Appalachian was teacher training. A distinctive philosophy for a graduate school would not be developed; Dougherty apparently believed it unnecessary to do so. Whether graduate level or undergraduate level, the teaching of teachers occupied the "highest position in the constellation." By the end of 1947, however, Dougherty decided that the time had come to develop a graduate school of his own. The state requirement that teachers possess graduate degrees necessitated it, and, as a service institution for the state's teachers, Dougherty believed it was his school's obligation to proceed into the graduate field, "the sole aim" of which was to "add to the competency of teachers and other educational workers." Initially explicit and narrow in its goals, the advent of a graduate school may in fact have been the first step away from the single-purpose institution that Dougherty had desired to maintain.[102] The "marriage of convenience" had come to an end, but now

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teachers that he initiated a special discussion, posing the question: "Does the master of arts degree...improve the public school teachers in the elementary and the high schools?" Dougherty to Paul Reid, State Board of Education, Raleigh, 10 July 1946, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

Other indications that Dougherty was either not convinced of graduate education for teachers or wanted to be sure to distinguish his practical graduate work from the "old research degree" may be found in the following: Dougherty to Bryan, 18 January 1950; Dougherty to Eller, 17 April 1948; Dougherty to Ramsey, 14 March 1949; Dougherty to Ramsey, 21 July 1945; Dougherty to King, 15 March 1948; Dougherty, "The Graduate School," [*c.*1948], TMs [photocopy], all are in the Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[102]Like Teachers College of Columbia University, Appalachian, in its advance into graduate work was "steadily and irresistibly" moving "away from its original function of teacher training" toward the emergence of a liberal arts and multi-purpose university. The graduate school would attract more students from farther afield with diverse interests, the "appeal" and policies would likewise evolve. Jurgen Herbst, And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture (Madison, Wisc.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 181, 188.

Appalachian was free to pursue its course in the graduate field. It was "an untried sea," Dougherty admitted.[103] The "experiment" had been reasonably successful, and although Appalachian did not pioneer efforts to bring graduate work to North Carolina's western mountains, its program could claim more fruitful results. It was then poised to take the next step, the development of a graduate program recognized by prospective students and by accrediting agencies.

[103]Dougherty reportedly used this phrase to describe the cooperative arrangement between UNC and Appalachian. Its meaning, however, remains somewhat encoded, which is the way Dougherty often preferred to speak. Marriage of convenience for whom? is the primary question. From the present perspective, it seems the program was never altogether convenient, but it may have been the necessary step for the development of Appalachian's graduate program. Lanier, Mountain Educator, 130; Dougherty to King, 15 March 1948, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

Chapter Three

"How sound is their offering in graduate work?" The Struggle for Credibility, 1948-1957

The UNC Graduate Board's decision to discontinue the graduate program in Boone was at least in part precipitated by information that Dougherty planned to establish his own graduate school that summer. Despite the implications of Dougherty's feigned disappointment with the decision, the summer school issue of the Bulletin came out the same month announcing "another forward movement": Appalachian would grant its own graduate degree.[1] The next challenge, and one that would require a great deal more time and effort than simply announcing a graduate program, would be to attain credibility for the new expansion. Like many teachers colleges in America making the same transition, Appalachian would face certain criticism for moving into the graduate field. Some doubted whether "the undergraduate foundations [were] carefully laid and the institutional support [was] unusually strong," which was recommended in the Southern Association standards for graduate work.[2]

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[1]The proofs for this Bulletin had doubtless gone to press prior to the UNC Graduate Board's decision to discontinue the program. For previous issues of the summer school Bulletin, the proofs went to press in early February. Dougherty to Ambrose Suhrie, Madison College, Tennessee, 14 February 1945, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[2]Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Standards for Colleges of Arts and Sciences and Teacher Training Colleges, 3 December 1947, 21.

For many, the question that lingered well into the 1950s was: "How sound is their offering in graduate work?"[3]

The summer school Bulletin in 1948 outlined the new program. The mission of the "graduate division" bore great resemblance to the mission of the entire institution. Indeed, the published aim was only remarkable for its similarity to the school's mission:

> The sole aim of the graduate division is to add to the competency of teachers and other educational workers. The entire graduate program will be made as functional as possible in order to carry out its aim. Each course offered must be justified in terms of the contribution which it may make toward a realization of the general aim of the program and the specific objectives of the individual student.[4]

The Bulletin also listed the graduate faculty. Instead of the four to six instructors that had sufficed from 1942 to 1947, twenty-three graduate faculty were approved for summer 1948. Most of the graduate faculty (fourteen) were still visiting summer

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[3]"Where the Questions Start," typescript from the Greensboro News, [early April 1951], Williams Papers, A.C.

[4]Bulletin, Summer School Issue, 1948, 20. This published aim for the graduate school represents a perception of the graduate school in the educational framework that is quite different from those at earlier graduate schools in America. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, graduate schools reflected an attempt to isolate, or protect, centers of learning from the demands of the market. American professors, in many ways trying to emulate German university ideals, attempted to "build a separate institutional structure where the higher criticism might find a home." A graduate school at Appalachian developed solely and directly for service to the State epitomized an alternative vision to the earlier ideals for graduate education, which strove toward the more intangible goals of intellectual culture, research, and philosophical dialogue. Sheldon Rothblatt and Bjorn Wittrock, eds., The European and American University since 1800: Historical and Sociological Essays (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 13.

residents, however.[5] Students would major in education and could minor in biology, English, library science, mathematics, or social science. The intention of the new graduate division was to provide training for seven types of educational positions: superintendent, principal, county supervisor, supervisor of student teaching, school librarian, secondary school teacher, and elementary school teacher. Even in that first year, Appalachian offered a number of $200 assistantships for the summer quarter.[6]

Would the venture work? Would enough students enroll to justify quadrupling the graduate faculty? These were questions that Dougherty surely asked.[7] "I know we are venturing out on an untried sea," he admitted.[8] But, enrolling enough students would not be the problem. Since the summer school had already been a popular program, in-service teachers again came in the summer of 1948. No longer would a dual system of graduate-level courses be offered. Students could choose to take any course labeled 500 and above (and some 400 level courses for electives) for credit toward a master's degree, and a person could take the same courses for certificate

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[5]Though the cooperative arrangement between UNC and Appalachian came to an end in early March, 1948, it had been suggested that Appalachian could nevertheless engage the services of UNC-approved graduate faculty, including two from Chapel Hill. Appalachian chose not to do this; the break would be complete. Ryan to Wilson, 6 March 1948, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[6]Bulletin, Summer School Issue, 1948.

[7]In a letter to the Wilkes county school superintendent, Dougherty suggested that as many teachers as possible attend the new program at Appalachian, to make them better teachers and for a salary increase. "It is becoming to all of us to take a part in it and help to put it across." Dougherty to C.B. Eller, North Wilkesboro, 17 April 1948, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[8]Dougherty to King, 15 March 1948, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

renewal. Any graduate from a standard college with a valid transcript would be accepted, although no one would be granted candidacy without at least three years successful teaching experience.[9] Enrollments in the graduate division did indeed rise significantly that summer. Of 619 students who held at least the bachelor's degree, 273 (representing sixty institutions) were enrolled in the graduate school to work toward a master's degree.[10] The remaining 346 college graduates (representing eighty-one institutions) were enrolled simply for "improved efficiency in teaching."[11] That is, they enrolled in graduate courses but not for credit toward a degree. However, they could satisfy certificate renewal requirements.

"Our graduate school has to graduate some people before it can be accredited," Dougherty explained.[12] As it turned out, only one graduate student was close to fulfilling requirements for the master's degree by the close of the summer quarter in 1948. Harold Quincy, a physical education teacher at the Appalachian Demonstration High School, must have accrued enough graduate credits through the earlier cooperative arrangement in order to finish in one summer. As Herbert Wey remembered it, since Quincy was the nearest student to completion of the

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[9]Bulletin, Summer School Issue, 1948.

[10]A master's degree was necessary for a master's or graduate certificate. However, not all those earning a master's degree would necessarily be earning teaching certification. Other educational personnel could be trained at Appalachian.

[11]J.D. Rankin, "The Dean's Report" [To the Board of Trustees], 30 July 1948, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives; Wilson to James E. Hillman, State Department of Education, Raleigh, 31 August 1948, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[12]Dougherty to Rachell Griffith, Thomasville, Georgia, 2 November 1948, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

requirements, Wey and others concentrated their efforts on assisting Quincy with his thesis so that he could graduate in August. Wey was at that time the principal of the high school. Quincy was the first ever to receive his master's degree from Appalachian and the only graduate of the new program in 1948.[13]

Next, Appalachian would have to gain recognition for its program. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Clyde Erwin, had tacitly agreed to recognize a graduate program at Appalachian when, in November of 1947, he had pledged his support for such a program in Boone.[14] South Carolina also recognized the graduate program for teachers as early as November.[15] Other states would follow. The only national accrediting agency for teacher education at that time was the American Association of College for Teacher Education (AACTE). Appalachian's undergraduate offerings had been accredited by the predecessor agency, the American Association of

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[13]Some questions must be raised regarding the seemingly rapid completion of Quincy's master's degree. For one, how had he accrued enough graduate credit prior to 1948 to complete the program? Assuming that Appalachian would accept the credits earned under the UNC arrangement for its own program, Quincy could have had a total of 18 quarter hours before 1948. Appalachian would also accept 9 quarter hours in transfer credit (doubtless, Quincy could have taken these through the UNC program as well). This means that he could have had 27 quarter hours of the necessary minimum 45 completed before the summer of 1948. This means that he somehow completed the remaining 18 quarter hours and wrote a thesis in the course of the summer. Wey did admit that Quincy was assisted as much as possible to complete his degree that first summer. Perhaps some generous interpretations of requirements were afforded Quincy that first summer as far as credits were concerned. Bulletin, Summer School Issue, 1948; Herbert Wey, Interview, n.d. [1970s], transcript, ASU Archives; Herbert Wey, interview by author, 12 June 1994, Boone, tape recording, in the possession of the author.

[14]Erwin to Dougherty, 7 November 1947, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[15]Ellison M. Smith, Director, Division of Teacher Education and Certification, Columbia, S.C., to Dougherty, 3 November 1948, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

Teachers Colleges (AATC), in 1939. Appalachian quickly moved to have its new graduate program approved, and the AACTE set dates for the inspection committee to visit the campus.

A new organization, the AACTE had been formed in February 1948 as a merger of the National Association of Colleges and Departments of Education, The National Association of Teacher Education Institutions in Metropolitan Districts, and the American Association of Teachers Colleges. A subsidiary of the National Education Association (NEA), the new organization attempted to develop national teacher-education standards and provide for the cooperation of all institutions conducting teacher education.[16] The AACTE would continue to function as an accrediting agency "until an organization which is better qualified is ready and willing to assume this responsibility."[17] The organization that would take its place, the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), formed in 1954 and was officially recognized by the National Commission on Accrediting (NCA) as the national accrediting body in the field of teacher education in 1957.[18] In 1948, the AACTE had stressed that its importance to the field of education, especially to the burgeoning graduate programs at teachers colleges, was in developing and

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[16]"View of What's Happening in Teacher Education Around the Nation," Journal of Teacher Education I (September 1950): 237.

[17]AACTE Yearbook, 1949, 169.

[18]John R. Mayor and Willis G. Swartz, Accrediting in Teacher Education: Its Influence on Higher Education (Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Accrediting, 1965), 52-54.

implementing qualitative standards for teacher-training. Seeking the AACTE's recognition was a strategic move for Appalachian.

In the first week of November 1948, an AACTE visitation committee inspected the graduate program in Boone.[19] Committee chairperson, Ralph Tirey, came from Indiana State Teachers College in Terre Haute. He was joined by Walter Morgan, president-emeritus of Western Illinois State Teachers College in Macomb. For two days the inspectors attempted to "obtain pertinent evidence concerning the quality of their graduate work." They noted the excellent "general moral and physical atmosphere of the college" and the "fine spirit of cooperation" that Dougherty, Wilson, and other faculty showed to them during their stay. Somewhat quaintly, the inspectors also found that "worthy of special mention" was "their excellent herd of dairy cattle."[20]

Obviously their report also said more about educational quality. The most glaring problem the inspectors found was the difficulty of examining a program that barely existed. The question of to what extent the institution must have its graduate program "in operation before it may be properly inspected for accreditation" emerged several times in their report. Perhaps inviting their visit had been a little premature. The inspectors had to note that "it was difficult to examine the graduate work since it

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[19]There is a discrepancy on dates here. On the cover of the visitation report, November three and four are given as dates for the visit. In the report itself, November four and five are given as the dates.

[20]Ralph N. Tirey and Walter P. Morgan, "A Report of the Inspection of the Graduate Program of the Appalachian State Teachers College at Boone, North Carolina," November 3 and 4, 1948, TMs [photocopy], Graduate School, Williams Papers, A.C., 2, 13.

is carried [out] only during the summer sessions and by a faculty most of which comes in during the summer only and is not now available for interviews."[21] A good point, if not an absurdly obvious one. But the trip to Boone having been made, the two inspectors attempted to find out what they could about the fledgling graduate program.

Tirey and Morgan endeavored to examine each facet of the graduate program as it was outlined in ten standards established by the AACTE. The inspectors felt that in most physical respects, the school was adequately prepared to offer graduate work. They were, however, critical of the apparent lack of a "well formulated statement of the objectives of its graduate work." The inspectors recommended that a graduate council of five or seven (instead of only three) examine graduate curricula.[22] They needed more attention and needed to be set forth much more clearly for the graduate students. The inspectors also felt that more regular faculty, and fewer visiting faculty, be assigned to teach the graduate work, which should be offered throughout the year, not just during the summer term. They recommended that a fixed salary schedule be developed and that salaries on the whole be raised. At the same time, they felt that Appalachian's graduate faculty teaching loads were somewhat heavier "than is conducive for the best graduate work." Regarding Appalachian's funding, the inspectors believed it was adequate for a limited graduate program.[23]

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[21]Ibid., 17, 18.

[22]It was not until 1955, that the council was expanded to five members. In 1956, it was increased to fourteen members. Bulletin, Summer School Issue, 1955, 1956.

[23]Tirey and Morgan, "Report of the Inspection...of Appalachian," 4, 9.

Although the inspectors were, on the whole, positive about the efforts that Appalachian had made in the way of a graduate program, there were critical problems with the whole inspection procedure. The inspectors had no syllabi to examine and thus had no real means of seeing exactly what any particular course might entail. Only one student had received a degree, earning credits in courses taught mostly by professors who were not available to the examining committee. Appalachian had apparently advanced into the graduate field without sufficiently clear objectives, at least from the standpoint of the inspectors, and they sensed that the faculty was not altogether clear on the reason for graduate work.[24] With these problems in mind, the inspection committee's decision to withhold any recommendation until the Accreditation and Executive Committees of the AACTE could meet was not surprising.[25] The AACTE was less than a year old, and policies for inspecting a graduate program not in operation had not been developed yet. The recognition of the graduate program, from the looks of the visitation report, was certainly not to be presumed.

Nevertheless, at the annual meeting in St. Louis on late February 1949, the AACTE approved Appalachian for graduate work.[26] However, this approval came with the stipulation requiring reinspection in two years.[27] At the time of the

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[24]Ibid., 1, 4.

[25]Ibid., 18.

[26]Bulletin, Summer School Issue 1950, 22.

[27]AACTE Yearbook, 1949, 168.

inspection committee's report the previous November, this approval would seem to have been doubtful. "To the surprise of everyone except perhaps Dr. Dougherty himself...the [AACTE] approved Appalachian," the Watauga Democrat reported.[28] Herbert Wey also jokingly suggested that "it is no question but that a few mountain hams and a few jars of honey" were sent to the accrediting committee.[29] What politicking that may have occurred cannot fully be known.[30] All that can be said is that despite several seemingly critical deficiencies, Appalachian's graduate program was recognized by what was then the foremost accrediting agency for teacher education in the nation. This fact would be marketed and would be an aid to gaining respectability.

In March 1949, the summer school issue of the Bulletin listed twenty-four graduate faculty, thirteen of whom were visiting.[31] By the close of the summer quarter, of a total student body of 1369, 338 had worked toward the master's degree;

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[28]"College Approved by American Association," Watauga Democrat, 23 June 1949.

[29]Herbert Wey, Interview, n.d. [1970s], transcript, ASU Archives, 9.

[30]Beginning late in 1948, during the period Appalachian's graduate school was being considered for approval by the AACTE, Dougherty made every effort to have the annual School for Executives held in Boone for the summer of 1950. This AACTE-sponsored event would have been a boon for the emerging graduate school. There is no way of knowing whether Dougherty's earnest efforts--"we are 'all-out' for this meeting"--were a subtle way of swaying opinion in the AACTE toward a positive inclination of Appalachian. The timing does seem somewhat less than coincidental though. In the end, the meeting was stymied by the race issue. Some of the participants were Black, and Appalachian and Boone were segregated. Dougherty to W.E. Lassenger, Wayne University, 22 December 1948, 3 January 1949, 9 February 1949, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[31]Bulletin, Summer School Issue 1949, 21.

another 248 degree holders enrolled but were not working toward the master's degree.[32] That August, Appalachian granted six master's degrees.[33] The June 1949 Bulletin, with announcements for the year 1949-50, indicated that henceforth the December issue of the Bulletin would be the Graduate Issue. The regular summer school issue also continued to carry all information pertaining to graduate work offered at Appalachian. Also in this issue was the announcement that graduate work would be offered during all quarters.[34]

Appalachian expanded the graduate work into the regular terms for the first time in the Fall of 1949.[35] Of 1260 students registering in September, 114 enrolled in the graduate school.[36] In an effort to attract resident graduate students to the regular terms, ten assistantships were offered for the school year 1949-50. The assistantships paid $300 to $600 to approved graduate students who worked as laboratory instructors, professor's assistants, or dormitory supervisor's assistants.[37]

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[32][Enrollment figures], Summer Quarter 1949, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[33]Williams, "History of the Office of Graduate Studies," Office of the Chancellor, ASU, 6.

[34]Bulletin for 1949-1950, June 1949, 29, 56.

[35]Cratis Williams had, in a short history of the graduate school, indicated that the year 1948-1949 was the first year that graduate work was offered during the regular term. This was clearly not the case. The Bulletin does not support it, and the visitation report of the AACTE in November 1948 specifically states the problem with inspecting a graduate program that was not in session.

[36][Enrollment figures], Fall Term 1949, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[37]The Appalachian, 9 September 1949.

In the 9 September 1949 issue of The Appalachian, another expansion of graduate services was announced. "Another step in the growth and extension of the Graduate School...will be made this month when three graduate centers will be opened for teachers in service. The Wilkesboros, Morganton, and Boone have been chosen as centers." A student could earn up to nine quarter hours in extension to be applied toward a master's degree. These courses were offered on certain weekday evenings and on Saturdays by faculty from Appalachian. The cost was the same as those courses taught on campus, save the expense of boarding.[38] The initiation of extension courses was geared specifically for teachers in service. Credit toward the master's degree could be earned without leaving home or missing work. Certificate renewal, which was satisfied by taking nine quarter hours, was also simplified.[39]

Appalachian's graduate school grew steadily. By the summer school in 1952, forty-four graduate faculty were employed. Over half were still visiting faculty, and over half held the doctorate.[40] In the first session of that summer school, 546 students were enrolled for graduate work. By the end of that summer, 127 students had fulfilled requirements for the master's degree. That fall, 179 graduate students enrolled.[41] Rapid growth had its drawbacks though.

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[38]In 1949 the fees were as follows: registration fee, $12; library fee, $3; and tuition fee, $2.50 per quarter hour.

[39]"Grad Courses will be Given in Extension," The Appalachian, 9 September 1949.

[40]Bulletin, Summer School Issue 1952, 25.

[41][Enrollment figures], Summer, Fall 1952, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

State funding seldom kept pace, and a graduate program brought with it greater funding requirements. In 1951, the requirement for state expenditure for institutions with graduate schools was set at $300 per capita by the AACTE.[42] In the early fifties, Appalachian's per capita appropriation hovered at a little over $200, significantly short of the requirements set by accrediting agencies.[43] The Budget Commission suggested that Dougherty raise tuition, a solution he was hesitant to employ since Appalachian students were already paying the highest percentage of the cost per student of any of the graduate schools.[44]

Dougherty was gravely concerned over the relative loss of funding. Just as Appalachian's scope and enrollment grew, legislators controlling budgets seemed increasingly unwilling to expand funding. To compound poor state budgetary support, the number of veterans attending Appalachian began to decline in the 1950s. Veterans returning to school on the GI Bill had been a financial boost. The $260 for tuition the federal government paid Appalachian for veterans dwarfed the $75 tuition that other

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[42][B.B. Dougherty], "A Brief from the Appalachian State Teachers College to the Appropriations Committee of North Carolina for 1951," TMs [photocopy], Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[43]In 1952, Appalachian received the lowest per capita appropriation of the State schools at $205. [Budget Commission], 1952, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[44]Tuition and fees collected from Appalachian students in the early 1950s typically accounted for about sixty percent of the annual expenditure per student. None of the other state institutions that offered graduate work had that high a ratio. [B.B. Dougherty], "Some Comparisons of the Cost of Education in the Different Colleges of North Carolina," [*c.*1950], TMs [photocopy], Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

students paid.[45] Dougherty took what strides he could to gain support for Appalachian. He wrote regularly to the presidents of the other teachers colleges and to various State leaders. Several times he acknowledged that, although "Appalachian has always been bashful and modest about appropriations" in the past, if "Appalachian is not helped a little, we will have to limit our enrollment or go out of the graduate school or reduce the salaries of the teachers." None of these options seemed palatable.[46] Appalachian would have to struggle financially for several years.[47] Indeed, in 1954, it had a $16,275 deficit.[48] This was something of a change from the late forties when Dougherty allowed money to revert to the State treasury.

Enrollments continued to grow at Appalachian, however. Perhaps due to increasing enrollments--thus increasing visibility--teacher education institutions became the target of greater national scrutiny and criticism. Criticism of teacher education was not new, but the groundswell of cynicism in the 1950s took on a more general and vigorous character. Not just standards, curricula, and methods were being doubted but

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[45]Dougherty to L.D. Moore, North Carolina Budget Bureau, Raleigh, 3 July 1950, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[46]Dougherty to Larry Moore, Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, Raleigh, 13 February 1951, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives; Dougherty to President John D. Messick, East Carolina College, 21 November 1951, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives; Dougherty to Senator W.F. Marshall, Raleigh, 17 February 1953, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives; Dougherty to William B. Rodman, House of Representative, Raleigh, 19 February 1953, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[47]"Well, I guess you have seen the budget and the bills introduced....Appalachian is in worse shape now than it has been for two years. There are some things I can't quite understand." Dougherty to J.D. Messick, 21 January 1953, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[48][Budget Commission], 1954, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

also the fundamental character of professional education. Critics questioned whether learning was being exchanged for methodology, whether a certain anti-intellectualism pervaded many teacher-education institutions, whether professional education requirements were excessive and led to pointless duplication of courses, and whether graduate work for educators should concentrate on subject-matter or on professional education.[49] Critics often focused on the graduate programs, which, like that at Appalachian, were often still fledgling endeavors. The graduate school was supposed to be a place for pursuit of advanced intellectual scholarship. To classify the work done beyond the baccalaureate degree in education as "graduate" struck many as anomalous. "It is at the graduate level that some of the real excesses of the field are found; the characteristic deficiencies of the undergraduate programs seem to be even more exaggerated when practiced at advanced levels....the theory that underlies graduate work in Education is even shakier than that of the undergraduate work."[50]

In October 1950, Life magazine published a special issue titled: "U.S. Schools: They Face a Crisis." One article in particular focused on the problems in teachers colleges. Because of the nature of the investigation and the subsequently bleak conclusions, the author chose to use a pseudonym, John William Sperry. The dissensions over teacher education were that volatile. Admitting exceptions, Sperry

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[49]Lindley J. Stiles, A.S. Barr, Harl R. Douglass, and Hubert H. Mills, Teacher Education in the United States (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1960), 22-28, 42.

[50]James D. Koerner, The Miseducation of American Teachers (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1963), 159.

concluded that, overall, "a great many of the teachers' colleges bring an inferior faculty and an inferior student body together in an inferior plant."[51] Even more suggestive was the author's discovery of the scorn in which the teachers colleges were held by many of those in liberal arts colleges or major universities. "They talked of low academic standards, the substitution of a mish-mash of teacher methodology for a thorough learning of anything." But then too, "University and liberal arts college people have little right to criticize teachers' colleges for not doing well a job they themselves have hardly done at all."[52] The rancor that could exist over the topic of teacher education was clearly expressed in this article.[53] In the end, though, the

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[51]John William Sperry, "Who Teaches the Teachers?" Life 29 (16 October 1950): 147.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Criticizing or defending teacher education has been a perennially popular subject for debate in some circles. Often the argument is framed in terms of a liberal versus professional education (also expressed by any number of different names). Albert Lynd presented a scathing critique of teacher education institutions, "diploma mills," in the article, "Quackery in the Public Schools," published in The Atlantic Monthly in 1950. In it, he spoke of the practice in teacher education of condensing subject-matter courses so drastically (into two or four week workshops) as to be meaningless at the same time as spinning out "astonishing lists of redundant offerings" in education. On the other side, M.L. Story, in "The Importance of a Rationale," counters critics of teacher education who oversimplify the business of teacher education. Story's article appeared in The Journal of Teacher Education 4 (September 1953): 175-177. The bibliography on teacher education--what it should be--is extensive. Here are a few: Stiles, et. al., Teacher Education in the United States, 22-44; Merle L. Borrowman, The Liberal and the Technical in Teacher Education: A Historical Survey of American Thought (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1956); Stephen Corey, "Controversy in Teacher Education: The Central Issue," in The Future Challenges Teacher Education (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1958); L.D. Haskew, "The Real Story in Teacher Education," The Journal of Teacher Education 9 (June, 1958): 124-126; Jacques Barzun, Teacher in America (Boston: Little, Brown, 1945); Mortimer Smith, And Madly Teach: A Layman Looks at Public School Education (Chicago: H. Regnery Co., 1949); Edgar W. Knight, "The

article shed an unflattering light on the education of teachers in America in 1950. Sperry called for a thorough reexamination of teacher education by a committee of laymen, and teachers college, liberal arts college, and university people. He suggested that teachers colleges ought to start receiving as much money as other educational institutions were receiving. Something had to be done, for "as things stand now, the teachers being trained to instruct your children and mine are getting the worst college education of all."[54]

The magazine's article may not have been cause for alarm on its own, but during the course of 1951, events in North Carolina suggested that indeed a current of criticism of teachers colleges was beginning to swell.[55] The criticism was especially harsh toward the graduate work offered at teachers colleges. Although seldom directed at any one college, it nevertheless did create an atmosphere that encouraged perhaps unfounded skepticism of the quality of work done at any teachers college.[56]

Obligation of Professional Education to the Schools," School and Society 74 (6 October 1951): 209-213; Arthur Bestor, "Anti-Intellectualism in the Schools," New Republic 128 (19 January 1953): 11-13; Koerner, Miseducation of American Teachers.

[54]Sperry, "Who Teaches the Teachers," 154.

[55]This burgeoning criticism was noticeable enough for mention. In 1953, in the Journal of Teacher Education, the author of one article began: "Professional courses for teachers, which appear to be undergoing a rather special attack at present have always seemed to invite an astonishing measure of criticism." Story, "The Importance of a Rationale," 175.

[56]In Teacher Education in America, the authors presented a reasoned response to the criticism of teacher education. They concede that though much of the criticism has validity, much of it is also overstated and based on what they say is an incomplete understanding of teacher education. Even one of the most outspoken critics of teacher education, James Koerner, acknowledged that his evaluation of teacher education was

In April 1951, Dougherty wrote to President Messick of East Carolina College and relayed a disturbing development. One of Appalachian's top master's graduates, who had been granted a Morehead foundation scholarship, was denied admission to the graduate school at UNC, apparently for the simple reason that they would not recognize his master's degree. This was so despite the fact that Appalachian's graduate work had been recognized by the AACTE for two years. "I am wondering if you have any trouble in getting credit for the master's degree?" Dougherty asked Messick.[57] In fact, Messick had been struggling for some time to have worthy graduates of East Carolina recognized at UNC. Since September of 1948 he had written numerous letters to Dean Pierson himself questioning how it was that students UNC refused to accept were accepted at such places as Columbia, Yale, New York, and Chicago Universities. Some prejudice seemed to have been demonstrated toward the teachers colleges in North Carolina, at least in so far as graduate work was concerned. Messick's increasingly strident letters never received a reply from Pierson, a fact that only added to the dissension in 1951 between the flagship universities, UNC especially, and the teachers colleges.[58]

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a generalization and that there were numerous exceptions. Was Appalachian's program one of those exceptions? That remains to be seen. Stiles, et. al. Teacher Education in the United States, 22-44; Koerner, Miseducation of American Teachers, 169.

[57]Dougherty to Messick, 12 April 1951, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[58]Messick to Pierson, 18 July 1951, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives. In this letter, Messick suggested that UNC's unwillingness to accept graduate work done at East Carolina would force East Carolina into offering the doctor's degree. Messick may or may not have been truly considering doctoral work, but he was certainly hoping that such language might precipitate some change. He wrote his letters to Pierson but sent copies to the Governor, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction,

In April 1951, Dougherty's secretary handed him a clipping of an editorial from the Greensboro Daily News. In it, the writer questioned the movement of teachers colleges into graduate work. How justified were the teachers colleges in offering a master's degree? the writer asked. It seemed to him that in doing so, the teachers colleges were abandoning their primary mandate of training teachers. Furthermore, the article raised the question of the soundness of the graduate work. "How well grounded in subject matter, aside from methodology, are the teachers whom they turn out?" The time had come, perhaps passed, for an investigation of the business of teachers colleges.[59]

These questions were surely cause for concern. Dougherty sent the clipping on to President Messick of East Carolina with a letter in which he reported that the teachers college in Johnson City (now East Tennessee State University) was facing

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the President of UNC, and the Chancellor at UNC-Chapel Hill. This confrontational approach elicited the criticism of some of the other players in this conflict. Several figures that would have been on his side believed that his tact might do more harm than good. That President Messick's confrontational approach seemed to be effecting little change and that in many ways he was already moving East Carolina away from the single-purpose teachers college explains in part why President Dougherty and President Reid of Western called for assembling a unified voice among the teachers colleges. They felt that their case would be better served if all three white teachers colleges in North Carolina articulated their concerns in a unified voice. Dougherty was especially interested in assuring that "the word" get out that the "mission of the teacher college is to improve the teaching in the state" and not to slide into the liberal arts. Dougherty to President Paul Reid, Western Carolina Teachers College, 22 August 1951, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives; Reid to Dougherty, 13 August 1951, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives; Clyde Erwin to Reid, 21 August 1951, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[59]Dougherty to President Messick, East Carolina, 12 April 1951. Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

some of the same difficulties with its legislature and the University of Tennessee. Its autonomy was being threatened by the politically more influential University. Still, Dougherty believed that in North Carolina the teachers colleges were still in a relatively good position to make demands as long as they spoke together on issues.[60] However, some of the most uncharitable words about teachers colleges were yet to be spoken.

In July 1951, Dr. Edgar Knight, Kenan professor of the history of education at the University of North Carolina, delivered an address at George Peabody College for Teachers. It was not a complimentary speech. Knight spoke on what he believed to be a disturbing trend in American education. Many institutions not qualified to do so were offering "so-called graduate work." Proliferation of non-standardized graduate degrees--most often at teachers colleges--should be guarded against, Knight warned, just as people were guarded "from impure foods and dangerous drugs." The time had come for a concerted "examination of the conditions in graduate work." Efforts by the Southern Association, especially a committee headed by Dean Pierson of UNC, were to be commended for "trying to bring some order out of the obvious chaos in graduate work in the southern states."[61]

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[60]Dougherty to Messick, 12 April 1951, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[61]Edgar Knight's speech was excerpted in an article in the Raleigh News and Observer and the Charlotte Observer on 26 July 1951 under the title, "Educator Raps Graduate Training Trend." The complete speech was also printed under the title, "The Obligation of Professional Education to the Schools," in School and Society 74 (6 October 1951): 209-213.

In many instances the proliferation of questionable degrees at teachers colleges had much to do with state departments of education, which were increasingly requiring graduate level certification for their teachers.[62] These higher level certificates also increased salaries for teachers. The danger was that there was no qualification made as to the source of the graduate degree. "The mere possession of the degree of whatever kind is sufficient to command an increased salary...." Intellectual interests were often last in the teacher's mind who returned to school to gain a graduate degree.[63] In the end, the "invention of new academic degrees" and the questionable quality of much of the graduate work offered by teachers colleges would undermine the quality of all graduate degrees. Some standardization, some control must be effected on what had become, in Knight's opinion, the "laissez-faire," "big business" of graduate work in professional education.[64]

The effects of Knight's speech almost immediately started rippling outward. The teachers college presidents in North Carolina especially had reason for concern. Dean Pierson and Edgar Knight, both significant figures in southern education, also exercised considerable influence in their home state of North Carolina. President Reid of Western admitted to Dougherty that he was "very much disturbed" by Knight's speech. Within a week, Dougherty wrote back to Reid. Although "[Dean Pierson] and

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[62]This is substantiated in Pierson, Graduate Education in the South, 126, 127.

[63]See also Koerner, The Miseducation of American Teachers, 169; Lynd, "Quackery in the Public Schools," Atlantic (March 1950), 35.

[64]Knight, "Educator Raps Graduate Training Trend," Charlotte Observer, 26 July 1951.

his entire committee....may not be as dangerous as we had thought," Dougherty judged, "I think we should set up very quickly and distribute the philosophy" that the teachers colleges' only mission is to improve the teaching of the State. Dougherty's information was that the committee had been formed in 1947, and "no one has ever felt the influence of their actions so far." Furthermore, Dougherty promised to be at the special meeting with the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the heads of the three white teachers colleges called to consider graduate work at the teacher training institutions.[65]

What concerned the heads of the teachers colleges was that representatives of big institutions would begin "to give us trouble" about the graduate work offered at the teachers colleges. President Reid pointed out to Dougherty that the graduate committee of the Southern Association (the committee of which Dean Pierson was chair) was "stacked with representatives of big institutions." Perhaps exaggerating the strength of the opposition somewhat, Reid believed that the only defence against possibly unfavorable policies being passed was to unify the teachers colleges' voice and to try to win some support among smaller liberal arts colleges.[66] There seems to be no evidence that a specific vote was planned, which presumably may have somehow rescinded accreditation from teachers colleges already offering graduate

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[65]Dougherty to Reid, 22 August 1951, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[66]Reid planned to mail a copy of Edgar Knight's speech to every president of a teachers college then in the Southern Association as an attempt to galvanize support before the December conference in St. Petersburg. Reid to Dougherty, 24 August 1951, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

work. Be that at it may, there was and is certainly evidence that some of the influential members of the Southern Association regarded the teachers colleges as inferior educational institutions.

The 1951 annual meeting of the Southern Association in December in St. Petersburg, Florida, was not the watershed event that some had feared. In a letter to Clyde Erwin, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Dougherty simply stated that "Appalachian came through without a scratch."[67] Much of the criticism had been applied with broad strokes over teacher education as a whole. Apparently, Appalachian's program was of sufficient quality to deflect any particular doubts of its program. But what *was* the quality of the graduate work at Appalachian? Ascertaining that may be difficult.

By standards of an educational association, such as the AACTE, Appalachian's program passed muster.[68] If however, the criteria of critics of professional education were used, Appalachian's graduate program had some weaknesses. Herein lies one of the difficulties of judging the quality of graduate education for teachers. By whose standards shall it be judged? It appears from this vantage point that much of the

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[67]Dougherty to Erwin, 10 December 1951, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[68]"So far as I know, all the states have accepted the credits from our summer school, both for graduate work and undergraduate work. The college has met all the standards of the Southern Association, it has the approval of the State Board of Education of North Carolina and of many of the southern states. It has also been inspected and approved by the [AACTE]. There is now no other agency that we can apply to for accreditation. I am glad the Department of Education of Georgia is going along with all the other states." Dougherty to Rachel Griffith, Thomasville, Georgia, 20 May 1949, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

controversy surrounding graduate education for teachers arose as a result of fundamental differences in the definition of graduate education (perhaps this is still the case). To simplify greatly: graduate education has variously been viewed as the arena for intellectual elevation or the means for professional advancement.[69] The model that Appalachian followed was clearly the latter.

Appalachian's graduate program did have some of the faults that critics often raised. It was chronically underfunded, lacked a sufficiently clear rationale, and required a minimal amount of academic content for its degree.[70] The graduate

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[69]Roger Geiger, "Research, Graduate Education, and the Ecology of American Universities: An Interpretive History," in The European and American University, eds. Rothblatt and Wittrock, 258. The challenge for many universities, Geiger points out, is combining the two traditions in an acceptable balance.

[70]Appalachian's deficiency in funding has been well-documented. In the early 1950s, Appalachian's appropriation was about $200 per capita, the lowest in the State. The requirement set by the AACTE for graduate schools was $300 per capita. [Dougherty], "Brief from Appalachian to the Appropriations Committee," 1951; [Budget Commission], 1952, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

The AACTE visitation committee in 1948 had made a special note of Appalachian's apparent lack of a rationale for its graduate program. Tirey and Morgan, "Report of the Inspection of the Graduate Program," Graduate School, Williams Papers, A.C., 4, 17. It should be noted that it was not until 1957 that the Assembly modified the charters of the state-supported schools to bring the charters in line with the activities of the institutions. This was also the same year that Appalachian undertook to examine its own purposes, the first such study of its kind. Board of Higher Education, Biennial Report, 1957-1959, 7; "Purpose and Philosophy of Appalachian," 1957, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

As for the elevation of pedagogy above academic subject matter, a quick scan of Appalachian's Bulletin from 1950 to 1970 will reveal that, here too, Appalachian's graduate program was open to some of the criticisms. Lynd and Koerner, and before them, Abraham Flexner, pointed to the excessive partitioning of education courses as evidence of the inferior state of graduate Education. Koerner: "This growth [of specialties and sub-specialties] reflects the history of slovenly administration that has characterized graduate Education, the manufactured professionalism that has obsessed educationists for many years...." Koerner, Miseducation of American Teachers, 164;

program was apparently improving, however, for in 1951, it received the second approval from the AACTE. The visitation committee came in November and inspected the graduate program in Boone. This re-visitation after only two years had been stipulated as a condition of the first approval in February 1949. Although the committee did find fault with the policy of open admission and selective retention in the graduate school--a practice that continued until 1954--the report was nevertheless generally favorable.[71] The committee chair commended Dougherty on the remarkable progress Appalachian had made.[72]

Although the debate over the direction and quality of teacher education would continue, Appalachian's graduate school would never again be faced with quite the

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Bulletin Summer School Issue, 1950-1970; Lynd, "Quackery in the Public Schools," Atlantic (March 1950), 33; Abraham Flexner, Universities: American, English, German (New York: Oxford University Press, 1930, 1968), 99, 100.

[71]Prior to 1954, anyone--with the exception of African-Americans--who possessed a college transcript would be admitted to Appalachian's graduate school. Students were screened during the course of the first quarter. After 1954, some screening was done before the students were admitted. This year too was significant for the landmark court case, Brown v. Board of Education, which struck down the prevailing philosophy of "equal, but separate" in America's educational institutions. There was not exactly a rush on Appalachian following this decision, however. Not until 1963 was there a Black undergraduate student attending Appalachian. It was not until 1965 that the graduate school conferred a degree on an African-American."Study of Graduate Students at Appalachian State Teachers College, 1948-1956," 5 February 1957, Graduate School, Williams Papers, A.C.; The Appalachian, 10 October 1963; "Black Students to Graduate from ASU," [*c.*1975], Graduate School, Williams Papers, A.C..

[72]Lanier, Mountain Educator, 132, 133. The visitation committee headed by Dabney Lancaster that inspected Appalachian's program in November 1951 was from the AACTE, not the Southern Association, as indicated in the Lanier account. Dabney Lancaster, Longwood College, Farmville, Virginia, to Dougherty, 7 July 1951, Dougherty Papers; Dougherty to Lancaster, 21 November 1951, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

same presumption of inferiority as it did in the early 1950s. It had, in a sense passed through that hardly detectable transition from assumed inferiority to presumed adequacy, at least in the field of education. There would not, for instance, be any question that in subsequent reaccreditation processes Appalachian would be approved. Its future now lay more in the visions of its subsequent leaders than with approval of accrediting committees.

Quite without warning, Dougherty submitted notice of his retirement to Appalachian's Board of Trustees on May 4th, 1955. His retirement took effect 1 July 1955. Dougherty was eighty-five and had served as the head of the same institution for fifty-six years: a still unprecedented tenure. In many people's minds, Appalachian and Dougherty were inextricably connected. Dougherty's successor, William H. Plemmons, in his inaugural address, stated that Appalachian was Dougherty's lengthened shadow and was "built in his own image."[73] To examine one was to examine the other. In some way, this perception resulted from Dougherty's autocratic leadership of the institution. Cratis Williams recalled that Dougherty's paternalistic system was possible in part due to his status as the founder and because the school was small; small enough, apparently, that Dougherty never felt it necessary to delegate any authority.[74] If a faculty member had an idea, he or she went directly to Dougherty, by-passing the

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[73]William H. Plemmons, "History of the Office of President," [*c.*1962], TMs [photocopy], Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives; William H. Plemmons, Inaugural Speech, 24 April 1956, transcript, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

[74]Ben Horton [former dean of the college of education, Appalachian], interview by author, 1 April 1995, Boone, tape recording, in the possession of the author.

department chair and the dean, Williams recalled.[75] Dougherty controlled most aspects of the running of the school.[76] But this was not something the faculty or staff of the college seemed to mind. Williams admitted that it "was a kind of comfortable administration to work in. I loved it very much and Dr. Dougherty and Dr. Rankin were kind of father figures to me."[77]

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[75]Williams, Interview, n.d. [*c.*1970s], ASU Archives, 11.

[76]Indeed, sometimes the minutiae with which Dougherty concerned himself seem comical by comparison to today's rigid multi-tiered administrations. For example, he reportedly visited the dormitories everyday during dinner time to assure that no food was ever wasted. He also apparently took the time to figure the number of gallons used by dripping locker-room showers and admonished the coach to make sure all were completely off after every use. Other similar examples abound. Lanier, Mountain Educator, 137, 138.

One of his favorite means of administration was through somewhat ambitiously titled "papers" sent to faculty and others. These were typically one page outlines of ideas, suggestions, and requirements. A few examples will suffice. In one paper, Dougherty provided a paragraph of the exact words a teacher might use when counseling a student whose performance was slipping. Another bulletin, titled "Some Small Suggestions about Tuning up the College for 1953-1954" included exhortations on such seemingly picayune concerns as: "Begin to call the roll promptly," "Do not use the doors and walls as bulletin boards," "Use the lights when needed, but always turn them off when not needed," and "Keep your classroom in order, with the seats well arranged." In another suggestion memo, he reminded teachers that if they used the blackboard to answer a question, the whole class would benefit. These suggestions were made when enrollments were moving toward 2000 and the regular faculty numbered over eighty. It was rapidly becoming more than a small isolated school. [B.B. Dougherty], "A More Complete Departmental Organization Through the Heads of the Departments," 1 January 1953, TMs [photocopy], Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives; B.B. Dougherty, "Some Small Suggestions about Tuning up the College for 1953-1954," [*c.*September 1953], TMs [photocopy], Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives; B.B. Dougherty, "Some Suggestions as to What Should Take Place in the Two Extra Hours of English for Freshmen," 21 September 1953, TMs [photocopy], Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives; [B.B. Dougherty], "To the Commission on Higher Education of North Carolina," 21 October 1953, TMs [photocopy], Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

[77]Williams, Interview, 12.

Nevertheless, the college was ready to move on. Appalachian, in Herbert Wey's estimation, had reached the place where it "needed somebody who would move us beyond what Dr. Dougherty had imagined."[78] The Board of Trustees moved quickly to find a new president. On Dougherty's suggestion, Dean Rankin was chosen to serve as the interim president until a suitable candidate could be found.[79]

Out of "a good many candidates," Cratis Williams recalled, and by unanimous decision, the Board of Trustees elected William H. Plemmons from Chapel Hill. Williams admitted that he could not be sure just what the Trustees' thoughts were, but he believed they were looking for someone who would not radically change things, someone who would continue in the Dougherty tradition of maintaining a teacher training institution. Plemmons, a professor in the Department of Education at Chapel Hill and a one-time visiting graduate professor to Appalachian in the summer of 1947, seemed the perfect choice, although perhaps he was not really in the Dougherty mold.[80] Indeed, he would be at the helm when Appalachian completed the transition

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[78]Wey, Interview, n.d. [1970s], transcript, ASU Archives, 11.

[79]Plemmons, "History of the Office of President," [*c.*1962], Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

[80]On 19 and 20 August 1955, Papers throughout the State announced Plemmons' appointment to succeed Dougherty. Congratulations poured in. One letter, from Robert G. Deyton, once the Assistant Director of the Budget Bureau, explicitly reminded Plemmons what Dougherty had done and implied that the school ought to continue as Dougherty had envisioned it. "You know the record that has been made at Appalachian...and what Professor Dougherty has meant to that school and to that community. This will not be an easy post to fill, as you must look long and far to find a man who has had the unselfish devotion which...Dougherty has had to the school....I feel sure that you are qualified to fill this post and will fill it with honor and distinction to yourself, to your school, and to your State. I shall watch your progress with a great deal of interest." Does this sound like an unconditional commendation, or

from single-purpose teachers college to regional university. Cratis Williams explained the transition of administrations:

> By the time Bill Plemmons came the institution had already outgrown...the kind of administrative tradition that had enabled Dr. Dougherty to make the college a great college for its size and its time, but that kind of administration had already passed off the scene. We were behind the times in that [Dougherty's] administration...was no longer relevant to the times. Dr. Plemmons perceived this and was so skillful in maneuvering the institution from that kind of organization to a modern organization.[81]

Appalachian was on the verge of another notable development. Under Dougherty's leadership the institution had been guided from a lowly mountain school offering a third-grade level education to a regionally, if not nationally, recognized teachers college and graduate school.

If a watershed year had to be chosen to mark Appalachian's next step forward, it would have to be 1957. Five events mark this transitional year: Dougherty's death, the ratification of House Bill 908, Chapell Wilson's death, the first substantial institution-wide rethinking of Appalachian's purpose, and the emergence of Cratis Williams as a school leader. Another event of at least symbolic importance in the history of higher education was the Soviet launch of Sputnik, which "triggered a massive federal commitment" to higher education. The launch of Sputnik crystallized for many Americans that the schools were not adequately educating its children to

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possibly an admonition to stay the path? Plemmons was doubtless well aware of the legacy that Dougherty was leaving and that among many he was nothing short of revered. Robert Deyton, Winston-Salem, to Plemmons, Chapel Hill, 19 August 1955, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

[81]Williams, Interview, 15.

compete in the world. Thus, again, a nation's skeptical eye turned to teacher education and higher education hoping nonetheless for a corrective. The National Defence Education Act (NDEA) of 1958 was the first direct federal response to Sputnik, which, among other things, provided loans to prospective teachers.[82] All these would have significant bearing on the institution as a whole, but also profoundly on the graduate school.

North Carolina mourned the passing a great educational leader in Dougherty's death on 27 May 1957. In honor of his memory, both houses of the General Assembly were suspended on 28 May 1957. "Dr. Dougherty represented in a very personal manner the...transition from the subscription school to the...[current] free public school system," a statement from the State Board of Education read.[83] In October 1957, Chapell Wilson also died. He had been the person who in many ways facilitated Dougherty's ideas.[84] Wilson had served in many capacities since his arrival in Boone in 1922, but perhaps he was most remembered for serving as the first director, then dean, of graduate studies.[85] Herbert Wey, at the time the assistant dean of graduate

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[82]Geiger, "Research, Graduate Education, and the Ecology of American Universities," in European and American University, 253; Pulliam and Van Patten, History of Education in America, 123.

[83]Quoted in Lanier, Mountain Educator, 227.

[84]Cratis Williams remembered Wilson as a man whom Dougherty counted on to accomplish many of the unpleasant tasks of running a college, like hiring and firing faculty. Wilson "had a great deal of authority....He was a much feared man," Williams conceded, but "he knew how to play the role that he needed to be the man that the institution required. Williams, Interview, 14, 15.

[85]Graduate Club, 1957-1958, "In Memory of Mr. Chapell Wilson," [October 1957], TMs [photocopy], Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

studies, served as the dean of graduate studies until August 1958. In April, he announced his intention to leave Appalachian, and Cratis Williams was chosen to succeed him.[86]

Williams had already begun to distinguish himself. He had, in 1957, undertaken to develop "the first program in the nation for the preparation of junior college teachers."[87] He also was appointed to serve on the "Philosophy Committee," which guided an extensive investigation of faculty perceptions of the "philosophy" and purpose of the institution, what it was, and what it should become.[88] Appalachian's reexamination of its own goals paralleled House Bill 908, ratified on June 6th 1957, which laid out the primary purposes of each of the state supported colleges. It stated that the teachers colleges' primary purpose was still the preparation of educational personnel, including the granting of the master's degree for such, but also to offer liberal arts instruction at the undergraduate level.[89]

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[86]"Williams Will Head Graduate School," The Appalachian, 10 April 1958.

[87]Cratis Williams, "Programs for Preparing Community College Personnel at Appalachian State University," 12 February 1976, TMs [photocopy], Graduate School, Williams Papers, A.C., 1.

[88][Philosophy Committee], "Memorandum: Purpose and philosophy of Appalachian State Teachers College," 10 April 1957, President William H. Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

[89]This bill, which passed as a restatement of the charter of the state-supported institutions, represented the first official legislative authorization for the graduate work done at the teachers colleges. This was fifteen years after Appalachian first began to offer graduate courses leading to a degree. A copy of this Bill can be found in the Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

The combination of evolving responsibility and new leadership would influence the subsequent development of the graduate school. Nearing the close of its first decade offering its own degree, the graduate program was beginning to attract attention as an exemplar of graduate work in professional education.

Chapter Four

A Graduate School for Professional Education, 1958-1967

With new leadership for Appalachian in President Plemmons, for the graduate school in Cratis Williams, and State and national reexaminations of the place of the teachers college, Appalachian was poised for a new stage of development. The decade following 1958 would see fundamental changes in the school's character. Even so, the changes in the graduate school reinforced--one may even say, perfected--its position as a graduate school for professional education. In many ways it was during the 1960s that the graduate school developed into a clearly defined segment of the school and, as a result, became an exemplar in its field. Here is why: it concentrated its energies on the field of education, something it did fairly well. Its *raison d'etre* was clear to anyone, especially to those involved with the school, which is important for the quality of education.[1] The visitation report of the Southern Association in 1962 suggests that

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[1]Indeed, lack of definition was often a criticism made of the field of professional education. A strident critic of teacher education in the early sixties, James Koerner, declared that "the field of professional education...has become an unwieldy, slow-witted, bureaucratic colossus...it is the most poorly defined, formless field in higher education." James D. Koerner, "How not to Teach Teachers," Atlantic Monthly 211 (February 1963): 59-63. One must include in this critique the various state boards of education, often the agencies that exerted the greatest influence on the policies of teachers colleges. While it seems that Appalachian was clear of its purpose in the 1960s, it is also clear that North Carolina's various controlling boards lacked a thorough-going philosophy for the teachers colleges. See also the discussion on the sixth-year program for school administrators later in this chapter.

by the 1960s, Appalachian's graduate program for educational personnel was to be lauded, for it did well what it was equipped to do.[2] Faculty and, judging by the continually rising enrollments in the graduate school, students recognized this aptitude. Even with the movement in at the undergraduate level toward liberal arts and sciences, the graduate school remained exclusively the domain of the field of education. This worked. In fact, during the 1960s, this model of combining the professional master's degree following the undergraduate foundation in the liberal arts and sciences in the same institution was not unusual throughout the nation.[3] Questions would remain, to be sure. There were still concerns with the quality and type of education a person received in professional graduate programs. Some believed that many graduate schools of education produced the antithesis of a liberally educated person.[4]

However, as it will become clear, Appalachian's graduate program earned accolade in educationists' circles. The decade of the sixties was for the graduate school a heady time, but with the pivotal changes implicit in the college's

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[2]In a recent interview, Clinton Parker, Associate Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, conveyed that one of the problems facing the Graduate School today is that it is trying to do too much. "We are trying to be something for everybody, and we can't afford to do that," Parker asserted. Appalachian should concentrate on a few excellent programs. The difficulty, Parker admitted, was deciding which programs should be cut and which should receive greater attention and resources. In the 1960s, Appalachian's graduate school concentrated on the education field, and in this, by teachers college standards, it excelled. Clinton Parker, Interview by Jessica Kelley and Dorothy Tate, 13 June 1995, transcript, GSOHP; "Report of the Visiting Team to the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools on Appalachian State Teachers College," 8-11 April 1962, Graduate School, Williams Papers, A.C.

[3]Stephen H. Spurr, Academic Degree Structures: Innovative Approaches (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1970), 75.

[4]Koerner, Miseducation of American Teachers, 159.

transformation into a university in 1967, the graduate school's niche in professional education vanished. No longer could it concentrate on conveying the myriad principles, methodologies, techniques, and philosophies of the tasks of professional educators. In university status, more was given, and thus, more was expected. The Southern Association visitation report of 1971 reveals that with the expanded responsibilities of being a university, Appalachian fell short in many ways, especially in its graduate school.[5]

Understanding Appalachian of 1971 requires returning to the mid-1950s. Perhaps the best place to start is with President William H. Plemmons' inauguration in April 1956. Although giving sincere and justifiable praise to Dougherty's single-

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[5]A striking criticism of the graduate program in the 1971 Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) visitation report was the "paucity of 'productive creative scholars'." Of even greater concern was the apparent attitude most of the graduate faculty had toward scholarship. SACS judged that a university graduate school should be evaluated by different, and more rigorous, criteria than a teachers college graduate school. Again, the visitation committee: "Since a program of graduate studies conducted by instructors of whom a great majority appear uninterested in research seems anomalous, it is recommended [their emphasis] that serious attention be given by administration and faculty to the encouragement and support of scholarly research." Not all the faculty shunned research. In the early 1970s, many of the newly hired faculty members brought with them a different idea of a professorship than many of the older faculty had. In the main, the new faculty saw research and scholarship as an integral part of their professional lives. Many of the older faculty were hired at a time when any research activities were not required of them. Divisions over the place of research in the historically teacher-oriented university would continue to be unresolved into the 1980s, and some may say to the present. The SACS visitation committee also had grave doubts as to the sufficiency of the library for graduate work in fields other than education. These criticisms should not be surprising for a school just attempting to make the transformation to a university. "Report of the Visitation Committee of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools to Appalachian State University," 29 October to 3 November 1971, Graduate School, Williams Papers, A.C., 54; Gregory Reck, Interview by Dorothy Tate, 14 June 1995, transcript, GSOHP.

purpose vision for Appalachian, Plemmons did present a philosophy of education that espoused not specialization, but a "broad program of education as an undergirder." In his explanation, Plemmons was clearly advising the integration of the liberal arts and sciences, which Dougherty had tended to disparage as out-of-date, with the school's mission. Plemmons certainly did not advocate overturning Appalachian's primary purpose, but he seemed to suggest that the rapidly changing world required people who were broadly educated, people, he announced, who had learned to understand the complexity of the numerous relationships--political, social, economic, spiritual--that comprised the contemporary world.[6]

Plemmons continued to reinforce the necessity of a breadth of education in numerous other speeches. By 1957, the Cold War also exerted pressure on America's educational institutions. Plemmons--along with just about every educational commentator in the nation--spoke of the dangers of falling behind the Russians in education. America is "losing the race for brains" to the Russians, Plemmons told a gathering of North Carolina educators at the North Carolina Education Association's (NCEA) centennial commemoration.[7] What would the coming age look like? To Americans in the mid-1950s and early sixties, the period was one of great prosperity,

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[6]Inaugural Address of William H. Plemmons, Boone, 24 April 1956, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

[7]William H. Plemmons, "Our Educational Centennial: A Backward and Forward Look," 1957, [speech transcript], Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

promise, and yet, too, one of some uncertainty. The ominous threat of nuclear war[8] and the baffling possibilities of technology made their impact on American's perception of educational needs.[9] Plemmons believed that the best course for education in a rapidly changing world was not hyper-specialization, but a broad education. "Education," he proclaimed at a speech in 1960, "is more than an accumulation and interpretation of information. It is more than preparation for earning a livelihood." It should "provide a pattern of culture." "Encyclopedism" is not really helpful; rather, education should develop a "cultured person" with an "intelligent

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[8]Many wrote or spoke with urgency about the nuclear age, but perhaps none so grimly as Walter Lippmann. In one article he calls for the need for civilized and enlightened citizens as a precaution against the nuclear threat. Fortunately, with the right education, this civility and enlightenment--read, soberness--could be inculcated. Walter Lippmann, "The Nuclear Age," Atlantic Monthly 209 (May 1962): 46-48.

[9]Some prognosticators of the future in the early 1960s sounded especially dire warnings of the perils of the coming age and what this should mean for education. One example of this in North Carolina was the address delivered by the chair of the State Board of Education at the Catawba College commencement in 1962. With a kind of "what have we wrought" tone, the speaker decried the dizzying rate of the advance of technology and machination, which seemed no longer in control. At the same time that America was "disillusioned by the discovery that we do not have a monopoly on scientific progress," the very same seemed to threaten to move beyond humankind's control. Therefore, if people are not being educated to "control the things educated men created" (caused, apparently, by the "overemphasis on so-called practical education and technical specialization"), then the "liberal arts college must stand fast." Civilization can be saved by men and women of intelligence and moral character informed to think and judge the complex problems of a complex world, the speaker intoned. Though with in less exigent tones, Plemmons was saying similar things. Commencement Speech of L.P. McLendon, Chair, State Board of Education, Catawba College, June 1962, [printed in the Greensboro Daily News, 10 June 1962], Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives. Governor Terry Sanford also stressed the importance of a broad and thorough education in a world of rapid scientific advances in a speech in Boone in 1962. The Appalachian, 20 September 1962.

outlook."[10] But did this not seem to overturn a single-purpose professional school, that by its nature, was specialized and directly prepared people for "earning a livelihood?" Perhaps, but not necessarily.

What evolved at Appalachian in 1960s was something of a hybrid between the two felt needs: a broad education and a mastery in the fields of professional education. In a speech to the Association of Public School Systems in October 1959, Plemmons explained that teachers as much as anyone should be broadly educated, but they should also be trained in the "art and science of teaching." Although he did not explicitly communicate it, he was suggesting a working relationship between the undergraduate and graduate levels of education at teachers colleges.[11] In fact, at Appalachian, this was exactly the model that materialized during the 1960s: a graduate school for educational personnel "undergirded," as Plemmons worded it, by an undergraduate school that offered a broad (or, liberal) education. How then did this seemingly successful amalgam develop at Appalachian?

In the early months of 1957, Appalachian undertook to examine its own sense of purpose. In many ways this institution-wide examination--led by a "philosophy" committee--represented in a visible way the beginning of an evolution for the school. Over the course of the next decade, Appalachian moved through a transition from a single-purpose teachers college to a regional university. The position of the graduate

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[10]Plemmons, "Education for Your Age," 1960, [speech transcript], Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

[11]Plemmons, "Today's Challenge to Teaching," 11 October 1959, Chapel Hill, [speech transcript], Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

school in relation to the rest of the institution also evolved during the decade following Cratis Williams' appointment. But in 1957, the conclusions of the philosophy committee hardly signified a radical departure from its long-standing purpose of training for educational personnel.

The editing committee composed of Graydon Eggers (Department of English), Jack Melton (Department of Education), and Cratis Williams presented the final copy of the results of the study to the faculty on 10 April 1957. Faculty members were to familiarize themselves with "the purpose and the general policies of the institution" as outlined in the study.[12] The primary reason for the study was first to ascertain what faculty believed was the purpose (or, philosophy, either seemingly used interchangeably in the study) of the school. Secondarily, the fact that the school engaged in such a study suggested a perception of the need for the dissemination of a comprehensive philosophy for the school and how it might change in the future. There had never been a study of this scale before, at least not one that sought the opinion of the faculty. In the past, Dougherty, more than anyone, had determined the purpose for the school.

Still, the stated purpose for the school remained largely unchanged. In 1929, the year it became a degree-granting teachers college, Appalachian's purpose was "primarily and exclusively to prepare teachers...."[13] The 1957 statement expanded the

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[12]"Purpose of Appalachian State Teachers College," 10 April 1957, TMs [photocopy], Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

[13]One may wonder about the curious wording here. It would seem that teacher training could be either the primary or the exclusive purpose of the school, but not

purpose somewhat to include the training of other educational personnel. Appalachian had already been providing training for other educational personnel for some time, officially since 1949. The 1957 statement reads: "Appalachian State Teachers College has as its primary aim the education of future teachers, principals, supervisors, superintendents, and to other school personnel for the state of North Carolina and to offer further education and service to such personnel as are already in the profession." If this was the purpose, perhaps the philosophical underpinning was the following: "The continuation and advancement of our democratic way of life depend largely upon the education that children receive in the school; therefore the college...strives to prepare teachers with vision and courage who desire and are able to improve the quality of education for children." To these ends a curriculum that provided a general education; a depth of understanding in one or two fields; thorough training in the methods, techniques, and principals of professional education; and a "pattern of wholesome cooperative democratic living" would be maintained.[14] The implication seems clear. Since popular education fosters and sustains a democratic society, then clearly the pinnacle institution is the one that prepares the teachers.[15]

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both. Such as it is, the writers obviously wanted to state in strong terms that the business of the school was teacher training. Appalachian State Teachers College, A Self Study Report Submitted to the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, (Boone, N.C.: Appalachian State Teachers College, 1962), 1.

[14]"Purpose of Appalachian," 1.

[15]This was not, by any means, a unique philosophy for education. According to Lawrence Cremin, "progressives" viewed public schools, and therefore the colleges that trained the teachers, as a means whereby the "promise of the American dream" could be applied to a larger segment of society. Education, available to the masses, worked to democratize society. Lawrence Cremin, The Transformation of the School:

The problem, so often overlooked or even carefully ignored, is that education is not the sole preserve of democratic societies. Throughout history education has often been a tool used to disseminate the most undemocratic values.[16] Plato viewed education as a means by which the ruling elite shaped human nature so that a harmonious state could be achieved. Universal and compulsory education served to screen and divide the population into those divisions that were most useful to the society. Innovation was to be discouraged for it led to disharmony. Education in Plato's utopia carefully maintained a ruling elite and subservient though efficient masses.[17]

Those espousing a theory of history based on conflict see education as the means that those in power have used to ensure a continuing subordinate class. Thus, education is propaganda; education shapes the underclass into acceptable and useful forms, not into enlightened individuals. America is not excluded in this possibility.

Progressivism in American Education, 187-1957 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), viii, ix. Of course there are numerous other books and treatises written on the subject of democracy and education. The topic is fairly overwhelmed. A few notable ones might be: John Dewey, Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961); James Bryce, The American Commonwealth, vol. 2 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1890); Willard S. Elsbree, The American Teacher: Evolution of a Profession in a Democracy (New York: American Book Company, 1939); Lawrence Cremin, Traditions of American Education (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1977); Horace M. Kallen, The Education of Free Men: An Essay Toward a Philosophy of Education for Americans (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Company, 1949); Ernest O. Melby, The Education of Free Men (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955); Rush Welter, Popular Education and Democratic Thought (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962).

[16]Melby, The Education of Free Men, 17, 18.

[17]Robert Fisher, Classical Utopian Theories of Education (New York: Bookman Associates, 1963), 35, 49.

Some Marxist observers have seen compulsory mass education as serving the needs of the capitalist elite by supplying skilled workers with the useful values of "punctuality, discipline, deference to authority and acceptance of responsibility for their work," as well as patriotic loyalty.[18]

Even educational institutions that have deemed themselves the champions of an underclass--such as Appalachian in the case of the "lost provinces" of the North Carolina mountains--end up striving toward creating an acceptable deferential conformity in its students. Cratis Williams had to admit that even he, a native of Appalachia, when he joined the faculty at Appalachian in 1942, was imbued with the prevalent "educational philosophy--that the best way to help a mountain boy make it was to shame him out of his background, to laugh at his speech until he corrected it, to be sarcastic about his grammar until he changed it. If he had the stamina to go through all this, he came out looking like a good middle-class American....I thought that this was on of the teachers [*sic.*] first duties." Williams' appraisal is substantiated by other materials from the Dougherty Papers: that a successful Appalachian education meant eschewing Appalachian culture and taking on the mantle of middle-class values.[19]

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[18]Ann Parker Parelius and Robert J. Parelius, The Sociology of Education, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978), 11-16.

[19]Mike Clark, "Education and Exploitation," in Colonialism in Modern America, 199-207; Williams, Interview, n.d. [1970s], transcript, ASU Archives; [Dougherty], "Checking the Delinquent Students," 2 January 1947, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives; [Dougherty], "Some Ideals for the Appalachian State Teachers College," October 1948, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives; Dougherty to Clarence Swain, Elkin, N.C., 12 March 1952, Dougherty Papers, ASU Archives.

> Education itself is neither intrinsically democratic nor intrinsically oppressive.
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> Educational systems are universal phenomena in organized society. Their content and character vary tremendously in different cultures, but they exist, nevertheless. The universality of these arrangements can be attributed to the need for all human societies to preserve their cultural heritage, and to inculcate their youth with the thought patterns, formal customs and proprieties of that culture.[20]

Thus, even education in a democratic society must resort to indoctrination to impart democratic values. It is, though many cringe today when education and values are uttered together, the unavoidable business of education.[21] The reason this discussion has been presented here is because the responsibility and character of education in the nation was being re-examined in earnest in the late 1950s and 1960s, and Appalachian also engaged in a corporate self examination.

The philosophical foundation that suggested that teachers were in one of the most critical positions in society for the development and preservation of cultural values, such as democracy, would not change. What is apparent is that at Appalachian, in the late 1950s, there were signs that some thought that the amount of professional education needed for teacher training should decrease. Furthermore, Appalachian's responsibility to the State and nation seemed to be in a period of transition, a point seemingly recognized by some faculty. Still, the faculty was not a monolithic group. Indicative of this was the response to the first statement, which declared that

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[20]William M. Cave and Mark A. Chesler, Sociology of Education: An Anthology of Issues and Problems (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1974), 1.

[21]Page Smith, Killing the Spirit: Higher Education in America (New York: Penguin Books, 1990).

Appalachian should start offering curricula that led to a liberal arts degree but keep the word, "teachers," in the name of the institution. About forty percent of the faculty agreed that the school should move in this direction. Still, about fifty percent believed that the school should continue in its function exclusively as an institution for training educational personnel. Another ten percent were undecided. Clearly though, most faculty believed that the school's primary function should be teacher training, for nearly three-quarters responded that the school should not drop the word "teachers" from its name.[22] East Carolina and Western Carolina had already dropped "teachers" from their titles.[23]

When asked about the balance of academic and professional requirements, faculty seemed not to comprehend the meaning of the two terms and/or were not sure of the school's requirements. Just under forty percent agreed that academic preparation should have greater emphasis than professional training. Still, almost fifty percent believed just the opposite. A group of faculty large enough to justify a remark by the editing committee apparently missed the point of the statement--that it was suggesting a hierarchy of priorities--and declared that more emphasis should be placed on both. The editing committee also felt it necessary to comment that "it was apparent that many faculty members did not know the amount of professional education required of

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[22]"Summary and Tabulation of Faculty Questionnaire Concerning the Philosophy and Objectives of Appalachian State Teachers College," [*c.*February 1957], Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives, 1.

[23]"Colleges for Teachers Still Fill Vital Place," Twin City Sentinel, 24 August 1955.

the students at Appalachian." Most faculty claimed that some academic training was important to all the faculty, but even in academic content classes, eighty percent of the faculty stated that some methodology should be introduced.[24]

In the end, the study revealed a basically conservative principle, with only minor alterations, among the faculty. The purpose of the institution was to remain in the service of educational personnel. Even so, there were some faculty who believed that offering liberal arts education would be an acceptable expansion of responsibilities, but no change should be effected if it interfered with the training of educational personnel. Although hardly overturning the convention of nearly sixty years, the study had articulated, with the input of faculty, what was Appalachian's business. This was a critical step, for it forced the institution to look at itself and in doing so set the stage for further examination in the future. It also set a precedent for faculty input in setting the course for the institution. Furthermore, faculty demonstrated that they appreciated having their opinions heard. The last item on the questionnaire solicited faculty opinion on administrative structure. Their response was instructive. Over ninety percent of the faculty expressed that major decisions and policy development should be made by a combination of faculty and administrative staff.[25] This constituted a significant departure from executive practice during the Dougherty administration.

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[24]Ibid., 2, 3.

[25]"Summary and Tabulation of Faculty Questionnaire," Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives, 6.

Only three years later, Appalachian again made plans for an in-depth self-study to be conducted over the course of two years. Some of the results, presented in March 1962, suggest that perceptions of the school's purpose were continuing to evolve.

The committee of the self-study, responding in part to a faculty survey, concluded that the purpose of the college should be expanded. Seventy-two percent of the faculty agreed. Although the college should retain teacher education as the primary objective, parallel and integrated with this, the committee recommended it should also offer a liberal arts program. Somewhat obliquely, the committee stressed that any new liberal arts program should be identified "as a part of and not apart from the teacher education program."[26] Just what this meant in practice was not clarified. But it did seem as though the committee believed liberal arts education should be justified in terms of its value to teacher education and that the ties between the two should be explicit and direct. Such a justification was not necessary as far as the State was concerned, however. The legislature had, in the revised charter of 1957, already authorized Appalachian to offer undergraduate work in the liberal arts that did not lead to a career in professional education.[27] In November 1964, The Appalachian reported that the Board of Trustees had approved that a proposal be made to the Board of Higher Education for liberal arts education to be offered at Appalachian.[28] The next

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[26]Self Study Report, 1962, 1.

[27]H.B. 908, 6 June 1957, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

[28]The article gave several reasons why the move into liberal arts was being contemplated for the undergraduate level. Among those cited were: the national trends for the expansion of curricula among teachers colleges; liberal arts colleges also offered teacher education; prospective students were likely to want more choice in

year Appalachian began to offer work toward a bachelor of arts and bachelor of science degree that did not lead to a teaching certificate.[29]

Where did graduate education fit in this evolution of purpose? The graduate degree would continue to remain in the exclusive service of educational personnel. Recognizing this, one of the suggestions of the graduate committee for the self study of 1962 was that the graduate degree be redesignated as the Master of Education degree instead of the Master of Arts.[30] Redesignating Appalachian's master's degree made sense, for a Master of Education more accurately described the nature of the degree. The SACS visitation committee concurred. Such a suggestion--changing the degree from a Master of Arts to a Master of Education--also seems to suggest that for the graduate work, there was little or no intention of a parallel migration toward liberal arts and sciences as was being experienced at the undergraduate level. This commitment to remain exclusively in the business of professional education did make some sense when considering the additional resources and facilities that would be required for graduate work in the breadth of the liberal arts, resources and facilities Appalachian did not have. But in professional education, Appalachian was a success, if one measures such by the number of degrees granted. Recognized in the field of education in the State, by 1968 Appalachian was awarding more master's degrees than

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field of study; and faculty tended to "become more dedicated and imaginative" in multi-purpose institutions. The Appalachian, 5 November 1964.

[29]Faculty of Appalachian State Teachers College, "Re-Evaluation Report Submitted to the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education," 1965, Graduate School, Williams Papers, A.C., 1.

[30]Self Study Report, 85.

any other State school except UNC in Chapel Hill.[31] Those in the field of education continued to comprise a majority earning master's degrees. For example, of 140,722 master's degrees conferred in 1965-1966 in the United States, those awarded in education accounted for thirty-six percent. Thirty percent were in the various fields of arts and sciences.[32]

Perhaps the most critical factor in the success of Appalachian's graduate school came through the leadership of Cratis Williams. Having served as a member of the department of English since 1942, Williams was chosen to head the graduate school in 1958, following Herbert Wey's resignation. Although not yet finished with his dissertation on Appalachian folk-lore and song, he was already renowned for his colorful portrayal of southern Appalachian culture.[33] Besides an attractive personality,[34] Williams also proved to be an able administrator. He systematized many functions of the graduate school that had previously been irregular. Even something so prosaic as an annual report from the graduate school had hitherto been unknown. Through the course of his tenure, Williams worked to define the graduate school's purpose in a way that distinguished it from the rest of the institution and in a

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[31]Cratis D. Williams, Dean, [Annual Report of the Graduate School, 1967-1968], September 1968, TMs [photocopy], Graduate School, Williams Papers, A.C., 1.

[32]Spurr, Academic Degree Structures, 65.

[33]"Williams will Head the Graduate School," The Appalachian, 10 April 1958.

[34]It seems that anyone who met Cratis Williams liked him. Joyce V. Lawrence, Interview by Jessica Kelley and Dorothy Tate, 27 June 1995, transcript; Clinton Parker, Interview by Jessica Kelley and Dorothy Tate, 13 June 1995, transcript; Richard Howe, Interview by Dorothy Tate, 3 July 1995, transcript; Glenda Hubbard, Interview by Jessica Kelley, 18 May 1995, transcript, all GSOHP.

way that maximized its potential. One of the ways he did this was by developing of programs linked exclusively to the graduate school and by making the necessary in-roads in national education organizations, effectively promoting Appalachian as he did so.[35]

Even before being assigned the duties of director of graduate studies, as it was then called, Williams had initiated the development of a program for preparing community (or junior) college teachers. Such a program proved to be timely. Although junior colleges had already been part of the American educational landscape since the beginning of the twentieth century, it was not until the post-war period that the benefits of community colleges became widely apparent. Community colleges represented the nation's attempt to provide educational opportunity to everyone. By the early 1960s, the community college "boom period" had begun, and finding qualified teachers assumed great urgency.[36]

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[35]Richard Howe, Interview by Dorothy Tate, 3 July 1995, transcript, GSOHP.

[36]The first junior colleges emerged not so much from a motivation to provide accessible educational opportunity for Americans but as a way to provide an isolation for the senior/graduate college. In 1901, William Rainey Harper, considered the "father of the junior college in America," advocated the development of junior colleges as a means of eliminating from the university the responsibility for the first two years of college, so that the university could more closely resemble the German model: an elite institution of research scholars. Not until the President's Commission on Higher Education for American Democracy in 1947 did the idea of the junior college--at this point becoming the community college--begin to change. The commission advocated establishing a "network of community colleges throughout the nation, thus placing higher educational opportunities within the reach of a greater number of citizens." Enter Jesse Bogue, whose The Community College (1950) articulated the broadened responsibilities of the community college, and his leadership revitalized the struggling American Association of Junior Colleges (founded in 1920). Clearly, the time was ripe for special programs for preparing community college teachers. Cratis Williams did

Appalachian was apparently one of the first institutions in the country to provide training specifically for junior college personnel. The executive secretary of the American Association of Junior Colleges and a key post-war spokesperson for the expansion of community colleges, Jesse Bogue, assisted Williams in developing the program at Appalachian. The prospective student could expect to major in an academic area, take courses in the philosophy, curriculum, and objectives of the junior college, participate in a seminar on junior college teaching, and have only one course on learning theory.[37] A teaching internship would be required if the student had not previously taught at the secondary level.[38]

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well to secure Bogue's assistance in setting up the program at Appalachian. Williams, as he would so often demonstrate throughout his leadership in the graduate school, kept abreast of the national trends in higher education. George B. Vaughan, The Community College in America: A Short History (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, 1985), 3-9.

On a state level, the need for community college teachers was just emerging. Relatively slow to act in the support of the community college principle, the North Carolina General Assembly did make modest grants for community colleges in 1955. But in 1957, with the passage of the Community College Act, the State "formalized" its commitment to community colleges. Howard R. Boozer, "North Carolina is Counting on Community Colleges," in Junior Colleges: 20 States, Washington, D.C.: American Association of Junior Colleges, 1966): 56.

[37]"A distinguishing feature [of the junior college program at Appalachian are the courses it] provides in the philosophy, objectives and nature of the two-year college." Appalachian could boast a degree of expertise on the subject in that it had one of the oldest programs specifically for junior college teachers. Richard David Howe, "Selected Teacher Preparation Programs," (UCLA Junior College Research Review) ERIC 2 (May 1968): 3.

[38]Cratis Williams, "Programs for Preparing Community College Personnel at Appalachian State University," 12 February 1976, TMs [photocopy], Graduate School, Williams Papers, A.C., 1.

In short order, community colleges from across the nation were writing to Appalachian's placement office requesting graduates of the new program. In 1966 alone, over 3500 requests came in for only 100 that had completed their degree programs. A paper Williams presented for a special panel discussion at the Council of Graduate Schools' (COGS) annual meeting in 1966--published in that year's Proceedings--probably accounted for the exceptional interest in Appalachian's program in 1966. Appalachian's training program for junior college teachers merited special mention in Stephen H. Spurr's Academic Degree Structures: Innovations in Higher Education (1970). Indeed, Appalachian's program for the preparation of community college personnel became the model on which many other programs nation-wide were based.[39]

Another program involved a cooperative arrangement between Appalachian and Indiana University. This began in 1955--so Williams probably was not involved in its initial development--and allowed a well-qualified applicant to take up to a year of graduate courses at Appalachian that could then be transferred toward a doctorate from Indiana University. By the end of 1967, fourteen had received their doctorates from Indiana University this way. Five were at Indiana working toward the degree and five more had just enrolled in the program at Appalachian as of September 1967. Although this never attracted large numbers, it was, after twelve years, proclaimed a success and

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[39]Cratis Williams, "Programs for Preparing Community College Personnel at Appalachian State University," 12 February 1976, TMs [photocopy], Graduate School, Williams Papers, A.C.; Leland Cooper, "Appalachian State University's Program for Preparing Junior College Teachers," [*c.*September 1967], TMs [photocopy], Graduate School, Williams Papers, A.C.; Spurr, Academic Degree Structures, 110.

further established Appalachian's graduate school as reputable institution in the allied fields of education.[40] This program demonstrated at the very least a willingness to provide the means for advanced learning and research, even if not finally at Appalachian, regardless of the fact that it was only viable for a few. Indeed, such a program was not meant for everyone but for only a handful who were truly qualified. The underlying philosophy necessary to justify such a limited program was one that paralleled what many believed was to be the core of graduate work, that it was not an education for the masses but for elite groups of scholars.[41] Likewise, another graduate program developed for the qualified few was the sixth-year program for school administrators.

In May 1965, the General Assembly of North Carolina authorized Appalachian (along with Western, East Carolina, and North Carolina College) to offer work toward and grant the Sixth-Year or Advanced Certificate, an intermediate level of work beyond the requirements of the master's degree. This approval was preceded by numerous attempts--primarily by administrators at Appalachian and East Carolina--to wrangle some measure of cooperation and recognition from the State Board of

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[40]"Appalachian-Indiana University Cooperative Program," n.d., Graduate School, Williams Papers, A.C.; Cratis D. Williams, Dean, "The Graduate School, 1966-1967 [annual report]," September 1967, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives, 10.

[41]Mary Pierson, Graduate Work in the South, 7-10; W.W. Pierson, "The Graduate School, 1933-1934," [*c.*August 1934], Graduate School, UNC Archives, 2; John S. Brubacher, On the Philosophy of Higher Education (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1977), 140; Joseph Ben-David, Trends in American Education (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972), 91; George S. Counts, Education and American Civilization (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952), 30-41.

Education. As early as his annual report of 1961-1962, Dean Cratis Williams referred to efforts to secure approval for "a sixth year of graduate work in order to be able to meet the needs for advanced certificates for principals,"[42] and in November 1962, the Southern Association granted approval for such an expansion as long as the program did not include the granting of a degree beyond the master's degree.[43] Even so, Appalachian would need the authorization of the proper State agencies first.[44]

The sixth-year certificate idea had emerged as an additional training program in 1959 from attempts by various national agencies to raise standards for school administrators.[45] North Carolina agencies were then obliged to develop policies to conform to national trends. To best utilize the "professional and institutional strength of the State," institutions desiring to offer the sixth-year program were required to

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[42]Cratis Williams, "Graduate Studies, 1961-62," [*c.*September 1962], Graduate School, Williams Papers, A.C., 25.

[43]Gordon Sweet, Executive Secretary, Southern Association, to Plemmons, 1 November 1962, Williams Papers, A.C.

[44]Williams believed that though the Southern Association had approved the plan for a sixth-year certificate, NCATE would probably not approve it. Even so, the critical authorization had to come from the State, which he believed should authorize the program "without regard for NCATE approval." Williams to Philip Weaver, Superintendent of Greensboro City Schools, 3 December 1962, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

[45]"The [North Carolina] Board [of Education] is particularly conscious of the vexing problems involved in the development of the Sixth-Year program which stemmed from action taken in 1959 by the American Association of School Administrators in raising standards for membership in that Association. It is known that the National Association of Secondary School Principals and the Association of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction are now working on similar requirements for the Sixth-Year Program." [Guy Phillips], "Proposed Policy Statement: Sixth-Year Program," [*c.*May 1964], Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

follow strict procedures when seeking authorization to offer the program. Following approval from each institution's board of trustees, proposals were to be made to the State Board of Higher Education, and then to the State Board of Education, which had final authority to authorize professional programs at all levels. Finally, following State authorization, each institution was to seek NCATE approval.[46] These guidelines had been proposed in May 1963, and in July, members of the two State boards of education and heads of institutions interested in the sixth-year program (including Plemmons) met to discuss the proposals for the sixth-year program. Following the meeting, in which it appeared the State Board was prepared to accept proposals, Appalachian proceeded to prepare its case.[47]

However, at a meeting in October of 1963, the State Board of Education effectively reversed its position without making it widely known. The resulting upheaval stemmed as much from the perception--held by teachers college administrators--of a capricious, then seemingly intractable, Board as from the actual policy, which was probably justifiable.[48] It appeared that any approval for sixth-year

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[46]Ibid.; J.F. Bozard to Cratis Williams, 16 May 1963, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

[47]W.H. Plemmons to W. Dallas Herring, Chair, State Board of Education, Rose Hill, N.C., 5 February 1964, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives; W.B. Sugg, Superintendent, North Carolina Education Association, to Plemmons, 19 March 1954, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

[48]President L.S. Weaver, Methodist College, Fayetteville, N.C., to Plemmons, 20 December 1963; Sugg to Plemmons, 19 March 1964; Plemmons to President Leo Jenkins, East Carolina, 3 February 1964; Plemmons to Herring, 5 February 1964; Plemmons to J.P. Freeman, Director, Division of Professional Services, Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh, 5 February 1964; Herring to Plemmons, 10 February 1964; "Policy Statement of the State Board of Education Regarding Sixth-Year Programs," 3

programs other than at Duke University or UNC would not be forthcoming. The Board resolved that "work on the Sixth-Year Certificate must be done at an institution which awards the Doctor's degree...." This resulted from a standpoint that maintained that the advanced certificate, though not a degree in any formal sense, should clearly represent work that was beyond the master's degree. This was the resolution even though the Board of Education had mandated that by July 1966, all State superintendents had to acquire the advanced certificate and that since July 1961 Principals were encouraged, but not required, to pursue the Advanced Principal's Certificate.[49] Both of these sixth-year programs, Appalachian was attempting to offer.

This policy excluding the possibility for the senior colleges to grant the certificate greatly disappointed President Plemmons. For one thing, the Board of Education had been less than forthcoming in publicizing its decision, so it was not until the last day of January 1964, when a committee from Appalachian was nearly prepared to present a formal proposal for its sixth-year program, that anyone at Appalachian knew of the Board's official position. Apparently, Plemmons, Williams, and others at Appalachian had labored for some time to ready a proposal for which a decision had already been reached. Plemmons respectfully expressed his grievance to W.D. Herring, the chair of the State Board of Education, and to J.P. Freeman, the director of the Division of Professional Services, a branch of the Department of Public

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October 1963. All are in the Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

[49]J.P. Freeman, Director, Division of Professional Services, Raleigh, to County and City Superintendents [of North Carolina], [*c.*October 1963], Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

instruction.[50] Herring wrote back apologizing for the fact that no one at Appalachian, especially Plemmons, had received the rather important resolution of the Board respecting the Sixth-Year certificate program. Nevertheless, since the Board clearly stated that the Sixth-Year program should represent work beyond the master's degree and that, by law, only a few of the State's institutions were authorized to offer work beyond the master's degree, then the policy would have to continue in force. Only institutions offering the doctorate could also offer the Sixth-Year program. "Neither [the State Board of Education nor the Board of Higher Education] is legally empowered to disregard the policy or to change it."[51] This would seem to preclude Appalachian's ever offering any advanced certificate programs.

As unequivocal as the Board's policy seemed to be, it was nevertheless clearly not a closed issue. The schools that wanted to offer the program--Appalachian, Western, and East Carolina--certainly continued to exert pressure on the Boards. Doubtless too, those who wanted to work toward a certificate desired greater choice in institutions from which to take the course work. The NCEA spoke on behalf of principals and superintendents--those whom the program directly affected--when it drafted a resolution asking the State for a measure of flexibility both in the time requirement for attaining the sixth-year certificate and in the authorization of the teachers colleges. "We want to let the members of the State Board of Education know

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[50]Plemmons to Freeman, 5 February 1964, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

[51]W.D. Herring, Rose Hill, to Plemmons, 10 February 1964, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

of our continuing dissatisfaction," a member of the Superintendent's Division of the NCEA told Plemmons.[52]

The continuing pressure finally seemed to bring results. In June 1964, Appalachian and East Carolina jointly[53] presented an exhaustive appeal for granting authorization of sixth-year programs at the senior colleges. Their thesis pointed to the many inconsistencies in the Board of Education's policies; to the emerging national trend for school administrators to have training beyond the master's level; to the fact that already many who held the master's degree had been returning to East Carolina or Appalachian for further study, with no financial incentive; to the schools' charters to serve the educational needs of the State; and to the advantages of greater accessibility if the program were offered at locations other than just the center of the State.[54] Finally, in a special meeting on 27 November 1964, the leaders of East Carolina, Appalachian, Western Carolina, North Carolina College, the University of North Carolina, and the Board of Higher Education, worked out an acceptable agreement.[55] Within days, the Board of Higher Education presented the "new approach" to the

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[52]"Resolution to State Board of Education Concerning the Requirements for the Advanced Certificates for School Administrators," [*c.*January 1964], Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives; Sugg to Plemmons, 19 March 1964, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

[53]From the looks of it, an Appalachian committee really did most of the work; East Carolina was in agreement with the proposal so its name was also appended to it.

[54]"Proposal for the Institution of Sixth-Year Programs at Appalachian State Teachers College and East Carolina College," June 1964, Graduate School, Williams Papers, A.C.

[55]Board of Higher Education to Board of Education, 30 November 1964, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

Board of Education, which in turn promptly issued a statement saying it would take the matter under study with all possible speed.[56] But to the frustration of many, the Board of Education issued a nearly identical statement after their January meeting and thus continued to offer not real opinion on the issue.[57]

Finally, on 4 February 1965, for reasons that were not altogether articulated--perhaps exhaustion of the subject--the Board of Education amended its policies and made way for the sixth-year program for superintendents, assistant superintendents, and principals at Appalachian (and the other colleges with graduate schools in the State). No substantial changes had occurred that would have increased Appalachian's ability to offer such work in the intervening years. Instead, the approval was possible by a somewhat contrived, if not also ambiguous, linguistic manipulation. The Board stated that a new sixth-year certificate would require "a minimum of thirty semester hours of graduate level instruction in addition to and in a horizontal relationship with a first master's degree." Those who attained the certificate through this program would be entitled to all the benefits that someone receiving a certificate from UNC or Duke

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[56]J.P. Freeman to Plemmons, *et. al.*, 8 December 1964, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

[57]J.P. Freeman to Plemmons, *et. al.*, 8 January 1965, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives. Unable to contain his frustration with the bureaucratic tedium of the Board of Education following the above letter, the president of East Carolina, Leo Jenkins, dashed off an acerbic letter to J.P. Freeman of the Department of Public Instruction. Many shared his displeasure. He closed by insisting that "it appears almost tragic when state supported institutions must appeal for an opportunity to serve in areas where they are eminently qualified to do so." Jenkins to Freeman, 11 January 1965, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

would have.[58] The "vertical" program continued in force at Chapel Hill and Duke.[59] Then, in May, the General Assembly signed the sixth-year program at the colleges into law.[60]

With the business of vertical versus horizontal sixth-year programs cleared up, Appalachian proceeded to present an official and specific proposal, which was authorized at a meeting of the Board of Education on 4 November 1965.[61] After all the effort to gain approval for the program, the demand was not exactly overwhelming. By the Fall of 1970, only nine had completed the requirements for the certificate. By this time, the summer graduate enrollment hovered around 2,500 and 1,000 for resident graduate enrollment for the regular terms. Nevertheless, for a graduate school of education there was apparently something to be said for the *ability* to offer this advanced certificate. For those in educational administration, this was a

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[58]It seems curious, to put it mildly, that after all the Board's resistance to allowing sixth-year programs at the State-supported colleges, the policy that emerges is a paragon of ambiguity and contrivance. It states that although the sixth-year program offered at Appalachian is somehow horizontal (implying inferiority) and the program at Duke is vertical (implying superiority), the benefits are the same. This business of vertical versus horizontal was apparently an attempt to hold to the original policy that had authorized the sixth-year program only at those institutions that offered the doctorate, unquestionably a degree in a "vertical" relationship to the master's degree.

[59]Charles F. Carroll, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Raleigh, to Plemmons, 8 February 1965, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives; John M. Howell, Dean, The Graduate School, East Carolina University, to Cratis Williams, 25 November 1970, Herbert Wey Papers, ASU Archives.

[60]John Howell to Cratis Williams, 25 November 1970, Wey Papers, ASU Archives.

[61][Cratis Williams], "Appalachian's Sixth-Year Programs for Principals and Superintendents Approved," 12 November 1965, TMs [photocopy], Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

recognized certificate. The sixth-year program was also the predecessor to the Educational Specialist degree, which Appalachian was authorized to offer in July 1970.[62]

Although the sixth-year or junior college programs may have had the higher profiles, they did not attract the greatest number of students. The graduate school had for some time been expanding and refining its graduate offerings. Initially, in 1949, the graduate student majored in education, and could choose minors in biology, social studies, English, or math.[63] In 1951, a student could major in education or library science; in 1953, school music and school counseling were added as majors; and in 1958, for the first time, students could major in the academic subjects of biology, English, math, and social science along with six other majors more directly linked to the field of education. By 1964 the list of available majors had grown significantly and was comprised of an array of specialized fields in education. The student could now specialize in such sub-fields as audio-visual education or supervision of reading.[64]

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[62]In July 1970, the Board of Higher Education authorized Appalachian to grant the Educational Specialist degree (Ed.S.) in Educational Leadership, Elementary Education, and Higher Education and the Science Specialist degree in biological sciences. [Cratis Williams], "The Graduate School, 1970-1971: Annual Report to the Graduate Faculty," September 1971, Wey Papers, ASU Archives, 11.

[63]Williams, "History of the Office of Graduate Studies," 1963, Office of the Chancellor, ASU.

[64]In 1964, a graduate student could major or minor in any of the following twenty-three areas: audio-visual education, biology, business education, chemistry, counseling, English, elementary education, French, industrial arts, junior college education, library science, mathematics, music, physical education, secondary education, school administration, school supervision, special education, supervision of reading, supervision of student teaching, social science, Spanish, and teaching of the deaf. Bulletin: Summer School Issue, 1964, 32.

The graduate course offerings illustrate the thrust of the graduate school in the 1960s. It seems inconsistent that amidst calls for a breadth of education and on the face of it an increasing number of course options in the graduate school, the education offered at the graduate level actually moved toward increasing fragmentation. For instance, between 1950 and 1964 the major in education subdivided seven ways, and this is counting only those majors that explicitly have "education" in the title.

One example of this fragmentation will suffice. The aspiring Audio-Visual specialist, besides the usual array of required foundational education courses (of which there were four), was required to take no fewer than seven courses in audio-visual education. Redundancy would have been unavoidable. A required course titled "Production and Care of Audio-Visual Materials," was followed by "Advanced Production and Care of Audio-Visual Materials." These two courses were somehow apparently distinct from each other and from another required course, "Use and Care of Machines and Equipment."[65] This specialist program was evidently one of the jewels of the graduate program, for The Appalachian boasted that it was one of only three such programs in the nation.[66] Abraham Flexner would have rolled in his grave.[67]

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[65]Bulletin Summer School Issue, 1963, 31, 32.

[66]The Appalachian, 2 February 1967.

[67]In 1930, Flexner had scoffed at the inconceivable array of specialized courses offered at Teachers College, Columbia University at that time. "Atomistic training--the provision of endless special courses, instead of a small number of opportunities that are at once broad and deep--is hostile to the development of intellectual grasp." Flexner, Universities, 100.

Extension courses, internships, workshops, and institutes also characterized the expansion of the graduate school. Extension courses were offered as early as 1949 and continued to be a popular option for many in-service teachers. In fact, extension work--especially if one counts Saturday-only classes under this rubric--comprised the bulk of the graduate enrollment during the regular terms. For example, for the fall quarter in 1953, of a total of 265 graduate students enrolled, only 27 were enrolled on-campus, 114 for Saturday classes, 46 at the Concord extension center, 17 in Forest City, 24 in Gastonia, and 37 in Winston-Salem.[68] The locations of the extension centers varied from quarter to quarter, but generally the number of centers continued to expand. By 1967, during the Spring quarter, Appalachian offered graduate courses at sixteen different centers across the State.[69] Eventually, with the prevalence and popularity of the extension programs, the so-called "Field-Based Master's Degree" was instituted in 1973. This degree program had no residence requirement except for the week immediately preceding the comprehensive exam.[70] By the beginning of the 1970s, the

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[68]"Report to the Board of Trustees: Graduate Division," 1955, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

[69]The extension centers were at Durham, Kannapolis, Monroe, Gastonia, Valdese, Winston-Salem, Charlotte, Wilkesboro, Salisbury, Asheville, Hudson, Newton, Shelby, Sparta, Jefferson, and Lincolnton. By the this time, Appalachian no longer provided all the faculty, but often commissioned the services of experienced educators in the respective areas. [Extension Program], Spring 1967, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives.

[70]"Graduate School: Field-Based M.A. Degree Options," 1972, Wey Papers, ASU Archive; Amazingly, by 1977 the field-based graduate degree accounted for 43% of graduate degrees awarded that year. Ron Tuttle, "A Report from the Graduate School: September 1, 1976 through August 31, 1977," [*c.*September 1977], Wey Papers, ASU Archives.

twenty plus year-old extension programs at Appalachian had evolved into a catch-phrase innovation, "university without walls."[71]

Extension programs had their obvious drawbacks, most obviously in the area of quality control and facilities. Students taking courses at these extension centers simply did not have access to library and computer facilities, or have the necessary advisement opportunities. It struck as odd one Appalachian professor who taught at some of these extension centers that she had to drive great distances, passing several state-supported institutions on the way, to offer graduate education that was unavoidably of an inferior quality to that which could be offered in Boone.[72] Moreover, Appalachian's ambitious network of graduate extension centers operated in the 1960s and 1970s sometimes elicited opposition from other State schools. In the vernacular, Appalachian encroached on their territory. An extension center in Asheville threatened to take students away from Western or UNC-Asheville; centers in Fayetteville, Greensboro, and Charlotte brooked the same complaints from the state schools in those areas.[73] Considering its state-supported status, Appalachian's attempt

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[71]In October 1972, Chancellor Wey wrote the Chair of the Panel on Alternative Approaches to Graduate Education and laid out the "several ways" that Appalachian was "moving away from traditional approaches" to graduate education. The field-based degree option topped the list. The field-based option had its origins in over two decades of successful implementation of graduate extension work. Herbert Wey to J. Boyd Page, Chair, Panel on Alternative Approaches to Graduate Education, Washington, D.C., 4 October 1972, Wey Papers, ASU Archives.

[72]Glenda Hubbard, Interview by Jessica Kelley, 18 May 1995, transcript, GSOHP.

[73]Chancellor Wey suggested that the extension centers not be called "centers" for that raised the suggestion of "residence centers which really is not lawful." Numerous headaches resulted too from the increased complexity of the paper work for any number of individual, non-resident programs. It may have been the case of an

to set up a graduate center--by then called a "cluster" program--in Spartanburg, South Carolina was a little over-the-top. Indeed, this center never opened, mostly due to the fact that it was out-of-state.[74]

Internships provided valuable educational experience for those moving into school administration. Administrative internships allowed for prospective principals and supervisors to work under the direction of experienced public school administrators throughout the State. These internship opportunities began in 1956, and subsequent annual reports reveal that they were consistently successful.[75]

Workshops for teachers had been around for sometime and had been the brunt of much criticism but continued to be a popular alternative for teachers who could not afford the time of a full summer session at Appalachian. These workshops were generally two-week courses held in Boone throughout the summer, and a student earned three quarter hours of graduate credit for attending any workshop. The

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"innovation" pressed too far. Wey to Williams, 22 February 1974, Wey Papers, ASU Archives; John E. Thomas to Wey, 16 August 1974, Wey Papers, ASU Archives; Glenda Hubbard, Interview by Jessica Kelley, 18 May 1995, transcript, GSOHP.

[74]Appalachian planned to open an extension center in Spartanburg for the master of education degree in 1976. For reasons that are not altogether clear, Appalachian withdrew at the last minute provoking the protests of students who planned to attend. They wrote to the attorney general of North Carolina who then passed the word on to the administration of the consolidated University. This unintentional grapevine method of communication was how UNC-system administrators heard of the plan, a plan that had not been endorsed by any of the proper agencies. "I request that you instruct your staff not to engage in any out-of-state activity of this nature in the future." Raymond Dawson, Vice President for Academic Affairs, UNC System, to Wey, 18 March 1977, William Friday Papers, UNC Archives.

[75]Cratis Williams, "The Graduate School, 1966-1967," September 1967, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives, 9.

Southern Association visitation committee expressed some concern over the number of workshop courses offered but conceded that as a teachers college, the precedent was in its favor. In other words, had the workshop courses been offered at a university or been in academic subjects, the Association's objection to the two-week courses might have been stronger. Be that as it may, Appalachian clearly developed enough of a reputation for its graduate level summer program that several national and State agencies sponsored special institutes on the Appalachian campus.

Institutes, in many ways, represented the zenith of the workshop model. Under the provisions of the National Defence Education Act of 1958 (NDEA), institutes for teachers of French or Spanish were held at Appalachian during the summer quarter, starting in 1961. In 1967, the NDEA also sponsored an institute of advanced study for library personnel. And there were others. "Under the auspices of the National Science Foundation," Appalachian hosted several science institutes in physical science, biology, and analytical chemistry for a select number of high school teachers in North Carolina and the Southeast. For social studies teachers, the Institute on Constitutional Democracy and Totalitarianism, sponsored by North Carolina Education Council on National Purposes, acquainted attenders "with the basic philosophies and governmental structures in the two competing systems." During many summers, these institutes were offered no where else in the State.[76]

National agencies were not the only ones to notice Appalachian's graduate school. "The solid reputation of graduate work at Appalachian has not only increased

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[76]Bulletin: Summer School Issue, 1961-1968.

the interest of Appalachian graduates in continuing toward the M.A. degree at their alma mater but has also attracted well qualified graduates of other institutions," Williams proclaimed in the 1964-65 annual report.[77] Enrollment figures support his claim. During the first year of his tenure as dean the graduate enrollments had been as follows: 1285 in the 1958 summer quarter; 42 resident graduate students in the 1958 fall quarter, plus an additional 275 in extension or Saturday classes. In the spring 1959 commencement, Appalachian awarded 33 master's degrees; at the end of the 1959 summer quarter, 118 received their master's degrees.[78] Ten years later, in 1968, the summer graduate enrollment had surpassed 2,500 and seemed to be stabilizing. During the regular sessions of 1968-1969, the total non-duplicating resident enrollment was 406; most graduate courses during the regular term were still being taken only on Saturdays or at extension centers.[79]

Appalachian's graduate school attracted graduates from numerous institutions across the nation and even abroad, a fact the annual reports never failed to highlight. Dean Cratis Williams believed that the enrollment statistics revealed a "cosmopolitan" student body, which suggested that the school was "far from 'provincial'."[80]

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[77]Williams tended to say this each year in his report, but not without support. Enrollments were increasing steadily each year. Williams, "Graduate Studies: Annual Report, 1964-1965," [*c.*September 1965], Williams Papers, A.C.

[78][Williams], "The Graduate Program, 1958-1959," [*c.*September 1959], Williams Papers, A.C.

[79]Williams, "The Graduate School, 1968-1969," September 1969, Williams Papers, A.C.

[80]Williams, "The Graduate School, 1966-1967," September 1967, Plemmons Papers, ASU Archives, 2.

However, there was a segment of America's own population that one will not find well represented in Appalachian's student body. This is, of course, the African-American population. Not until 1965, did a black graduate student receive her master's degree from Appalachian. She had been the first graduate student to attend Appalachian. The number of African-American students did not dramatically increase after that either. In 1966, there was one black graduate; in 1967, none; in 1968, two; and in 1969, three. Even by 1974, Appalachian only granted seven graduate degrees to African-Americans.[81] Once segregation became illegal the largest deterrent to African-American enrollment seems to have been (perhaps still is) a demographic one. In the mid to late 1970s, when the graduate school began to pursue a more active recruitment of black students, a primary difficulty--one that could not be changed--was "the minuscule black population in Boone." Understandably, being among a handful black students in a small mountain town with virtually no black population was a daunting prospect. The variables of higher stipends for graduate assistants, more out-of-state tuition waivers, and more extensive recruiting trips would make only small differences in the black graduate enrollment.[82] To describe Boone, or even Appalachian, as "cosmopolitan" was somewhat ambitious, if not misleading. One former student remembers Boone as being "a pretty Southern Baptist kind of place. We didn't have minorities of any kind....I never saw anybody that [*sic.*] wasn't white.

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[81][Cratis Williams], "Black Students to Graduate from ASU [Graduate School], [*c.*1975], Graduate School, Williams Papers, A.C.

[82]Richard H. Rupp, Graduate School Dean, to Herbert W. Wey, 8 June 1978, Wey Papers, ASU Archives.

I saw very few people who weren't Baptist."[83] In the end, it could be said that Boone's and Appalachian's "provincialism" was one of the most decisive factors in the failure of the graduate school to attract African-American students.

Defined in terms of an institution for educational personnel, Appalachian's graduate school had in most regards reached a comfortable maturity by the mid to late 1960s. It was a comfortable maturity in that it was recognized for the utility of its service to professional education because, in part, the graduate school only attempted what it was adequately prepared to do.

Thus, when Appalachian State Teachers College became Appalachian State University by action of the General Assembly in July 1967, it was more than a name change. Inherent in the new name were expanded responsibilities. These were responsibilities that, in a many ways, Appalachian was not yet ready to undertake. The creation of the regional universities--East Carolina University, Western Carolina University, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University, and Appalachian State University--had been a move that the Board of Higher Education advised against.[84] For one, Appalachian faculty, administrators, and accrediting agencies certainly recognized the inadequacy of the library for any more than graduate work in the field of education. Plemmons did not feel that Appalachian was prepared to make the shift, but realized that the movement at the other public senior colleges was already underway. Cratis Williams recalled that Plemmons struggled considerably with

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[83]Glenda Hubbard, Interview by Jessica Kelley, 18 May 1995, transcript, GSOHP.

[84]King, University of North Carolina Comes of Age, 101.

the idea of becoming a university.[85] Plemmons' hesitance may have been well founded. The Southern Association visitation report of 1971 revealed that many of Appalachian State University's graduate faculty still seemed to espouse the ideals of teachers college faculty. That is, more was expected in terms of fostering a climate of inquiry and scholarship in a university than was expected in a graduate school for professional educators. This was an expectation that some of the older faculty were unwilling to meet.

President Plemmons recognized that the transition to university could not take place overnight. "Which comes first," he asked the faculty at the start of the 1967 fall term, "readiness to be a university or freedom and encouragement to move to readiness?"[86] Of course, there were challenges ahead. University status, he reminded the faculty, "will require, among other things, increased financial support, additions to the faculty...additional facilities designed and built to accommodate the personnel and program of a university, increased support for the library....[and] encouragement in the area of research will be continued and increased."[87]

For the graduate program, the change of name would signify even greater changes. Suddenly, it was charged with providing instruction in the liberal arts and sciences. Since 1942, the graduate program at Appalachian had provided a limited program for professional educators. The new mandate set by the General Assembly

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[85]The Appalachian, 2 February 1967; Williams, Interview, 19.

[86]W.H. Plemmons, "Implications of University Status for Appalachian," Bulletin: Faculty Publications, 1968-1969, 2.

[87]Ibid., 4, 5.

represented a significant departure for the graduate program. Nevertheless, Plemmons was optimistic. By 1972, he thought, the graduate school would "in all probability" be offering programs at the doctoral level.[88]

Appalachian had been through five names. Each redesignation had brought expanded opportunities and responsibilities, but the change to a university would prove the biggest transition of its sixty-eight year history. Again, Plemmons on the transition to a university: "By whatever official name it has been known, Appalachian has proved itself capable of making the various transitions and taking its place among the leading institutions of its kind, whatever that kind happened to be at the time."[89] But all the other changes had been changes within the field of education. Surely, the transition begun in 1967 represented significantly more than Appalachian's last name change in 1929, from Appalachian State Normal School to Appalachian State Teachers College.

The Graduate School, indeed the whole university, would have to successfully integrate its heritage as a teacher training institution with its new broader responsibilities. The graduate school now faced the difficulty of being "both useful and

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[88]Plemmons, "Implications of University Status for Appalachian," 5. Indeed, Cratis Williams and Herbert Wey made significant efforts to bring the Doctor of Arts degree (D.A.) to Appalachian. Williams believed it represented an appropriate synthesis of the school's teacher-training heritage and university status. The D.A. "is the logical doctorate for regional universities," Williams wrote in 1969. Robert H. Koenker, "Status of the Doctor of Arts and Sixth-Year Degree and Non-Degree Programs for Preparing Junior College and College Teachers," 25 March 1970, TMs [photocopy], Wey Papers, ASU Archives, 2, 3; Williams to President Quincy Doudna, Eastern Illinois University, 3 December 1969, Wey Papers, ASU Archives.

[89]Ibid., 8.

learned at the same time."[90] This would prove to be a challenging proposition.[91]

[90]Geiger, "Research, Graduate Education, and the Ecology of American Universities," in European and American Universities, 259.

[91]Almost without exception, those interviewed for the Graduate School Oral History Project addressed the continuing challenge of developing an appropriate rationale for the graduate school. This has been made challenging in many ways by the difficulty of integrating, yet moving beyond, its teachers college history. Clinton Parker addressed this difficulty in his interview: "[Being a teachers college] established us a national reputation in teacher training....It should not be overlooked. That's our history...and, I think, something we can take a great deal of pride in....most [people] will recognize and associate Appalachian State with its background as a teacher training institution....[Even though we do much more] yet we still [are perceived as] only a teacher training institution....There is a stigma that is associated with teacher training institutions." Yet, as Joyce Lawrence pointed out, Appalachian's teacher training program, "will always be one of our important areas." So the challenge remains. Transcripts, GSOHP.

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VITA

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